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Biography

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES

ROMAN SECTION.

PART I.

CAIUS GRACCHUS TO TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

LANGHORNE TRANSLATION.

Text and Notes Complete and Revised, with Index.

ROMAN SECTION.

PART I.

CAIUS GRACCHUS TO TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

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PLUTARCH'S LIVES.

ROMULUS.

FROM whom, and for what cause, the city of Rome obtained that name, whose glory has diffused itself over the world, historians are not agreed.¹ Some say the Pelasgi, after they had overrun great part of the globe, and conquered many nations, settled there, and gave their city the name of Rome,² on account of their strength in war. Others tell us, that when Troy was taken, some of the Trojans having escaped and gained their ships, put to sea, and being driven by the winds upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor in the river Tiber; that here their wives being much fatigued, and no longer able to bear the hardships of the sea, one of them, superior to the rest in birth and prudence, named *Roma*, proposed that they should burn the fleet; that this being effected, the men at first were much exasperated, but afterwards, through necessity, fixed their seat on the Palatine Hill, and in a short time things succeeded beyond their expectation: for the country was good,³ and the people hospitable; that therefore, besides other honours paid to *Roma*, they called their city, as she was the cause of its being built, after her name. Hence too, we are informed, the custom arose for the women to salute their relations and husbands with a kiss, because those women, when they had burned the ships, used such kind of endearments to appease the resentment of their husbands.

Among the various accounts of historians, it is said that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; or else the daughter of *Telephus* the son of *Hercules*, and married to *Aeneas*; or that she was the daughter of *Ascanius*, the son of *Aeneas*, and gave name to the city; or that *Romanus*, the son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*, built it; or *Romus*, the son of *Æmathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent from *Troy*; or else *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, after he had expelled the *Tuscans*, who passed originally from *Thessaly* into *Lydia*, and from

¹ Such is the uncertainty of the origin of imperial Rome, and indeed of most cities and nations that are of any considerable antiquity. That of Rome might be the more uncertain, because its first inhabitants, being a collection of mean persons, fugitives, and outlaws, from other nations, could not be supposed to leave histories behind them. *Livy*, however, and most of the Latin historians, agree that Rome was built by *Romulus*, and both the city and people named after him; while the vanity of the Greek

writers wants to ascribe almost everything, and Rome among the rest, to a Grecian original.

² Ρωμα, Rome, signifies strength.

³ Whatever desirable things Nature has scattered frugally in other countries were formerly found in Italy, as in their original seminary. But there has been so little encouragement given to the cultivation of the soil in the time of the pontiffs, that it is now comparatively barren.

Lydia into Italy. Even they who, with the greatest probability, declare that the city had its name from Romulus, do not agree about his extraction; for some say he was son of Æneas and Dexithea, the daughter of Phorbus, and was brought an infant into Italy with his brother Remus; that all the other vessels were lost by the violence of the flood, except that in which the children were, which driving gently ashore where the bank was level, they were saved beyond expectation, and the place from them was called Rome. Some will have it that Roma, daughter of that Trojan woman who was married to Latinus, the son of Telemachus, was mother to Romulus. Others say that Æmilia, the daughter of Æneas and Lavinia, had him by Mars; and others again give an account of his birth, which is entirely fabulous. There appeared, it seems, to Tarchetius, king of the Albans, who was the most wicked and most cruel of men, a supernatural vision in his own house, the figure of Priapus rising out of the chimney hearth, and staying there many days. The goddess Tethys had an oracle in Tuscany,¹ which being consulted, gave this answer to Tarchetius, That it was necessary some virgin should accept of the embraces of the phantom, the fruit whereof would be a son, eminent for valour, good fortune, and strength of body. Hereupon Tarchetius acquainted one of his daughters with the prediction, and ordered her to entertain the apparition: but she, declining it, sent her maid. When Tarchetius came to know it, he was highly offended, and confined them both, intending to put them to death. But Vesta appeared to him in a dream, and forbade him to kill them; but ordered that the young women should weave a certain web in their fetters, and when that was done, be given in marriage. They weaved, therefore, in the daytime; but others, by Tarchetius's order, unravelled it in the night. The woman having twins by this commerce, Tarchetius delivered them to one Teratius, with orders to destroy them. But, instead of that, he exposed them by a river side, where a she-wolf came and gave them suck, and various sorts of birds brought food and fed the infants, till at last a herdsman, who beheld these wonderful things, ventured to approach and take up the children. Thus secured from danger, they grew up, and then attacked Tarchetius, and overcame him. This is the account Promathion gives in his history of Italy.

But the principal parts of that account, which deserve the most credit, and have the most vouchers, were first published among the Greeks by Diocles the Peparethian, whom Fabius Pictor commonly follows; and though there are different relations of the matter, yet to dispatch it in a few words, the story is this: The kings of Alba²

¹ There was no oracle of Tethys, but of Themis there was. Themis was the same with Carmenta, the mother of Evander, which last name she had, because she delivered her oracles, in carmine, in verses.

² From Æneas down to Numitor and Amulius, there were 13 kings of the same race, but we scarce know anything of

them except their names, and the years of their respective reigns. Amulius, the last of them, who surpassed his brother in courage and understanding, drove him from the throne, and to secure it for himself, murdered Ægestus, Numitor's only son, and consecrated his daughter Rhea Sylvia, to the worship of Vesta.

descending lineally from Æneas, the succession fell to two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. The latter divided the whole inheritance into two parts, setting the treasures brought from Troy against the kingdom; and Numitor made choice of the kingdom. Amulius then having the treasures, and consequently being more powerful than Numitor, easily possessed himself of the kingdom too; and fearing the daughter of Numitor might have children, he appointed her priestess of Vesta, in which capacity she was always to live unmarried, and a virgin. Some say her name was Ilia, some Rhea, and others Sylvia. But she was soon discovered to be with child, contrary to the law of the vestals. Antho, the king's daughter, by much entreaty, prevailed with her father that she should not be capitally punished. She was confined, however, and excluded from society, lest she should be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. When her time was completed, she was delivered of two sons of uncommon size and beauty: whereupon Amulius, still more alarmed, ordered one of his servants to destroy them. Some say the name of this servant was Faustulus: others that that was the name of a person that took them up. Pursuant to his orders, he put the children into a small trough or cradle, and went down towards the river, with a design to cast them in; but seeing it very rough, and running with a strong current, he was afraid to approach it. He therefore laid them down near the bank, and departed. The flood increasing continually, set the trough afloat, and carried it gently down to a pleasant place now called Cermanum, denoting that the brothers arrived there.

Near this place was a wild fig-tree, which they called Ruminallis, either on account of Romulus, as is generally supposed, or because the cattle there ruminated, or chewed the cud, during the noontide, in the shade; or rather because of the suckling of the children there; for the ancient Latins called the breast *ruma*, and the goddess who presides over the nursery Rumilia, or Rumina, whose rites they celebrate without wine, and only with libations of milk. The infants, as the story goes, lying there, were *suckled by a she-wolf, and fed and taken care of by a woodpecker. These animals are sacred to Mars; and the woodpecker is held in great honour and veneration by the Latins.* Such wonderful events contributed not a little to gain credit to the mother's report, that she had the children by Mars; though in this they tell us she was herself deceived, having suffered violence from Amulius, who came to her, and lay with her in armour. Some say, the ambiguity of the nurse's name gave occasion to the fable; for the Latins call not only she wolves but prostitutes *lupæ*; and such was Acca Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, the foster-father of the children. To her also the Romans offer sacrifice, and the priest of Mars honours her with libations in the month of April when they celebrate her feast Larentalia.

They worship also another Larentia on the following account. The keeper of the temple of Hercules, having, it seems, little else to do, proposed to play a game at dice with the god, on condition

that, if he won, he should have something valuable of that deity ; but if he lost, he should provide a noble entertainment for him, and a beautiful woman to lie with him. Then throwing the dice, first for the god, and next for himself, it appeared that he had lost. Willing, however, to stand to his bargain, and to perform the conditions agreed upon, he prepared a supper, and engaging for the purpose one Larentia, who was very handsome, but as yet little known, he treated her in the temple, where he had provided a bed ; and after supper, left her for the enjoyment of the god. It is said that the deity had some conversation with her, and ordered her to go early in the morning to the market-place, salute the first man she should meet, and make him her friend. The first man she met was one far advanced in years, and in opulent circumstances, Tarrutias by name, who had no children, and never had been married. This man took Larentia to his bed, and loved her so well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole estate, which was very considerable ; and she afterwards bequeathed the greatest part of it by will to the people. It is said, that at the time when she was in high reputation, and considered as the favourite of a god, she suddenly disappeared about the place where the former Larentia was laid. It is now called Velabrum, because the river often overflowing, they passed it at this place, in ferry-boats, to go to the Forum. This kind of passage they call *velatura*. Others derive the name from *velum*, a sail, because they who have the exhibiting of the public shows, beginning at Velabrum, overshade all the way that leads from the Forum to the Hippodrome with canvas, for a sail in Latin is *velum*. On these accounts is the second Larentia so much honoured among the Romans.

In the mean time, Faustulus, Amulius's herdsman, brought up the children entirely undiscovered ; or rather, as others with greater probability assert, Numitor knew it from the first,¹ and privately supplied the necessaries for their maintenance. It is also said that they were sent to Gabii, and there instructed in letters, and other branches of education suitable to their birth : and history informs us that they had the names of Romulus and Remus, from the teat of the wild animal which they were seen to suck. The beauty and dignity of their persons, even in their childhood, promised a generous disposition ; and as they grew up, they both discovered great courage and bravery, with an inclination to hazardous attempts, and a spirit which nothing could subdue. But Romulus seemed more to cultivate the powers of reason, and to excel in political knowledge ; whilst, by his deportment among his neighbours in the employments of pasturage and hunting, he convinced them that he was born to command rather than to obey. To their equals and inferiors they

¹ Numitor might build upon this the hopes of his re-establishment ; but his knowing the place where the children were brought up, and supplying them

with necessaries, is quite inconsistent with the manner of their discovery when grown up, which is the most agreeable part of the story.

behaved very courteously; but they despised the king's bailiffs and chief herdsmen, as not superior to themselves in courage, though they were in authority, disregarding at once their threats and their anger. They applied themselves to generous exercises and pursuits, looking upon idleness and inactivity as illiberal things, but on hunting, running, banishing or apprehending robbers, and delivering such as were oppressed by violence, as the employments of honour and virtue. By these things they gained great renown.

A dispute arising between the herdsmen of Numitor and Amulius, and the former having driven away some cattle belonging to the latter, Romulus and Remus fell upon them, put them to flight, and recovered the greatest part of the booty. At this conduct Numitor was highly offended; but they little regarded his resentment. The first steps they took on this occasion were to collect, and receive into their company, persons of desperate fortunes, and a great number of slaves; a measure which gave alarming proofs of their bold and seditious inclinations. It happened that while Romulus was employed in sacrificing (for to that and divination he was much inclined), Numitor's herdsmen met with Remus, as he was walking with a small retinue, and fell upon him. After some blows were exchanged, and wounds given and received, Numitor's people prevailed and took Remus prisoner. He was carried before Numitor, and had several things laid to his charge, but Numitor did not choose to punish him himself, for fear of his brother's resentment. To him, therefore, he applied for justice, which he had all the reason in the world to expect; since, though brother to the reigning prince, he had been injured by his servants, who presumed upon his authority. The people of Alba, moreover, expressing their uneasiness, and thinking that Numitor suffered great indignities, Amulius, moved with their complaints, delivered Remus to him to be treated as he should think proper. When the youth was conducted to his house, Numitor was greatly struck with his appearance, as he was very remarkable for size and strength; he observed, too, his presence of mind, and the steadiness of his looks, which had nothing servile in them, nor were altered with the sense of his present danger; and he was informed that his actions and whole behaviour were suitable to what he saw. But above all, some divine influence, as it seems, directing the beginnings of the great events that were to follow, Numitor, by his sagacity, or by a fortunate conjecture, suspecting the truth, questioned him concerning the circumstances of his birth; speaking mildly at the same time, and regarding him with a gracious eye. He boldly answered, "I will hide nothing from you; for you behave in a more princely manner than Amulius, since you hear and examine before you punish: but he has delivered us up without inquiring into the matter. I have a twin-brother, and heretofore we believed ourselves the sons of Faustulus and Larentia, servants to the king. But since we were accused before you, and so pursued by slander as to be in danger of our lives, we near nobler things concerning our

birth. Whether they are true, the present crisis will show.¹ Our birth is said to have been secret; our support in our infancy miraculous. We were exposed to birds and wild beasts, and by them nourished; suckled by a she-wolf, and fed by the attentions of a woodpecker as we lay in a trough by the great river. The trough is still preserved, bound about with brass bands, and inscribed with letters partly faded; which may prove, perhaps, hereafter very useless tokens to our parents, when we are destroyed." Numitor hearing this, and comparing the time with the young man's looks, was confirmed in the pleasing hope he had conceived, and considered how he might consult his daughter about this affair; for she was still kept in close custody.

Meanwhile Faustulus, having heard that Remus was taken and delivered up to punishment, desired Romulus to assist his brother, informing him then clearly of the particulars of his birth; for before he had only given dark hints about it, and signified just so much as might take off the attention of his wards from every thing that was mean. He himself took the trough, and in all the tumult of concern and fear carried it to Numitor. His disorder raised some suspicion in the king's guards at the gate, and that disorder increasing while they looked earnestly upon him, and perplexed him with their questions, he was discovered to have a trough under his cloak. There happened to be among them one of those who had had it in charge to throw the children into the river, and who was concerned in the exposing of them. This man, seeing the trough, and knowing it by its make and inscription, rightly guessed the business; and thinking it an affair not to be neglected, immediately acquainted the king with it, and put him upon inquiring into it. In these great and pressing difficulties, Faustulus did not preserve entirely his presence of mind, nor yet fully discovered the matter. He acknowledged that the children were saved, indeed, but said that they kept cattle at a great distance from Alba; and that he was carrying the trough to Ilia, who had often desired to see it, that she might entertain the better hopes that her children were alive. Whatever persons perplexed and actuated with fear or anger use to suffer, Amulius then suffered; for in his hurry he sent an honest man, a friend of Numitor's, to inquire of him whether he had any account that the children were alive. When the man was come, and saw Remus almost in the embraces of Numitor, he endeavoured to confirm him in the persuasion that the youth was really his grandson; begging him at the same time, immediately to take the best measures that could be thought of, and offering his best assistance to support their party. The occasion admitted of no delay, if they had been inclined to it; for Romulus was now at hand, and a good number of the citizens were gathered about him, either out of hatred or fear of Amulius. He brought also a considerable force

¹ For if they were true, the god who miraculously protected them in their

infancy, would deliver Remus from his present danger.

with him, divided into companies of 100 men each, *headed by an officer who bore a handful of grass and shrubs upon a pole*. These the Latins called *Manipuli*; and hence it is that, to this day, soldiers of the same company are called *Manipulares*. Remus, then, having gained those within, and Romulus assaulting the palace without, the tyrant knew not what to do, or whom he should consult, but amidst his doubts and perplexity was taken and slain. These particulars, though mostly related by Fabius and Diocles the Peparethian, who seems to have been the first that wrote about the founding of Rome, are yet suspected by some as fabulous and groundless. Perhaps, however, we should not be so incredulous, when we see what extraordinary events Fortune produces; nor, when we consider what height of greatness Rome attained to, can we think it could ever have been effected without some supernatural assistance at first, and an origin more than human.

Amulius being dead, and the troubles composed, the two brothers were not willing to live in Alba, without governing there; nor yet to take the government upon them during their grandfather's life. Having, therefore, invested him with it, and paid due honours to their mother, they determined to dwell in a city of their own, and, for that purpose, to build one in the place where they had their first nourishment. This seems, at least, to be the most plausible reason of their quitting Alba; and perhaps, too, it was necessary, as a great number of slaves and fugitives was collected about them, either to see their affairs entirely ruined, if these should disperse, or with them to seek another habitation; for that the people of Alba refused to permit the fugitives to mix with them, or to receive them as citizens, sufficiently appears from the rape of the women, which was not undertaken out of a licentious humour, but deliberately, and through necessity, from the want of wives; since, after they seized them, they treated them very honourably.

As soon as the foundation of the city was laid, they opened a place of refuge for fugitives, which they called the Temple of the Asylum God.¹ Here they received all that came, and would neither deliver up the slave to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer to the magistrate; declaring that they were directed by the oracle of Apollo to preserve the asylum from all violation. Thus the city was soon peopled;² for it is said, that the houses at first did not exceed a thousand.

While they were intent upon building, a dispute soon arose about the place. Romulus having built a square, which he called Rome, would have the city there; but Remus marked out a more secure situation on Mount Aventine, which, from him, was called

¹ It is not certain who this God of Refuge was. Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us that, in his time, the place where the asylum had been was consecrated to Jupiter. Romulus did not at first receive the fugitives and outlaws within the walls, but allowed them the hill Saturnus, after-

wards called Capitulinus, for their habitation.

² Most of the Trojans, of whom there still remained fifty families in Augustus' time, chose to follow the fortune of Romulus and Remus, as did also the inhabitants of Pallantium and Saturnia, two small towns.

Remonium,¹ but now has the name of Rignarium. The dispute was referred to the decision of augury; and for this purpose they sat down in the open air, when Remus, as they tell us, saw six vultures, and Romulus twice as many. Some say Remus's account of the number he had seen was true, and that of Romulus not so; but when Remus came up to him, he did really see twelve. *Hence the Romans, in their divination by the flight of birds, chiefly regard the vulture*; though Herodotus of Pontus relates that Hercules used to rejoice when a vulture appeared to him as he was going upon any great action. This was, probably, because it is a creature the least mischievous of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, nor cattle. It only feeds upon dead carcases; but neither kills nor preys upon anything that has life. As for birds, it does not touch them even when dead, because they are of its own nature; while eagles, owls, and hawks tear and kill their own kind; and, as Æschylus has it,

What bird is clean, that fellow birds devour?

Besides, other birds are frequently seen, and may be found at any time; but a vulture is an uncommon sight, and we have seldom met with any of their young; so that the rarity of them has occasioned an absurd opinion in some, that they come to us from other countries; and *societysayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.*

When Remus knew that he was imposed upon, he was highly incensed, and as Romulus was opening a ditch round the place where the walls were to be built, he ridiculed some parts of the work, and obstructed others. At last, as he presumed to leap over it, some say he fell by the hand of Romulus;² other by that of Celer, one of his companions. Faustus also fell in the scuffle; and Plistinus, who, being brother to Faustus, is said to have assisted in bringing Romulus up. Celer fled into Tuscany; and from him such as are swift of foot, or expeditious in business, are by the Romans called *celerēs*. Thus, when Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, provided a show of gladiators, the people admiring his quick dispatch, gave him the name of Celer.

¹ We find no mention either of Remonium or Rignarium in any other writer. An anonymous MS. reads Remoria; and Festus tells us (*De Ling. Lat. lib. II.*) the summit of Mount Aventine was called Remuria, from the time Remus resolved to build the city there. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus speaks of Mount Aventine and Remuria as two different places; and Stephanus will have Remuria to have been a city in the neighbourhood of Rome.

² The two brothers first differed about the place where their new city was to be built, and referring the matter to their grandfather, he advised them to have it

decided by augury. In this augury Romulus imposed upon Remus; and when the former prevailed that the city should be built upon Mount Palatine, the builders, being divided into two companies, were no better than two factions. At last, Remus, in contempt, leaped over the work, and said, "Just so will the enemy leap over it!" whereupon Celer gave him a deadly blow, and answered, "In this manner will our citizens repulse the enemy." Some say, that Romulus was so afflicted at the death of his brother, that he would have laid violent hands upon himself, if he had not been prevented.

Romulus buried his brother Remus, together with his foster-fathers, in Remonia, and then built his city, having sent for persons from *Hetruria*,¹ who, (as is usual in sacred mysteries) according to stated ceremonies and written rules, were to order and direct how every thing was to be done. First, a circular ditch was dug about what is now called the Comitium, or Hall of Justice, and the first fruits of every thing that is reckoned either good by use, or necessary by nature, were cast into it; and then *each bringing a small quantity of the earth of the country from whence he came, threw it in promiscuously*.² This ditch had the name of Mundus, the same with that of the universe. In the next place, they marked out the city, like a circle, round this centre; and the founder, having fitted to a plough a brazen ploughshare, and yoked a bull and cow, himself drew a deep furrow round the boundaries. The business of those that followed was to turn all the clods raised by the plough inwards to the city, and not to suffer any to remain outwards. This line described the compass of the city; and between it and the walls is a space called, by contraction, Pomerium, as lying behind or beyond the wall. Where they designed to have a gate, they took the ploughshare out of the ground, and lifted up the plough, making a break for it. Hence they look upon the whole wall as sacred, except the gateways. If they considered the gates in the same light as the rest, it would be deemed unlawful either to receive the necessities of life by them, or to carry out through them what is unclean.

The day on which they began to build the city is *universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April*, and is celebrated annually by the Romans as the birth-day of Rome. At first, we are told, they sacrificed nothing that had life, persuaded that they ought to keep the solemnity sacred to the birth of their country pure, and without bloodshed. Nevertheless, before the city was built, on that same day, they had kept a pastoral feast called Palilia.³ At present, indeed, there is very little analogy between the Roman and the Grecian months; yet the day on which Romulus founded the city is strongly affirmed to be the thirteenth of the month. *On that day, too, we are informed, there was a conjunction of the sun*

¹ The Hetrurians, or Tuscans, had, as Festus informs us, a sort of ritual, wherein were contained the ceremonies that were to be observed in building cities, temples, altars, walls, and gates. They were instructed in augury and religious rites by Tages, who is said to have been taught by Mercury.

² Ovid does not say it was a handful of the earth each had brought out of his own country, but of the earth he had taken from his neighbours; which was done to signify that Rome would soon subdue the neighbouring nations. *Indidit* (lib. xx., cap. ii.) is of opinion, that by throwing the first fruits and a handful of earth into the trench, they

admonish the heads of the colony, that it ought to be their chief study to procure for their fellow-citizens all the conveniences of life, to maintain peace and union amongst a people come together from different parts of the world, and by this to form themselves into a body never to be dissolved.

³ The Palilia, or feast of Pales, is sometimes called Parilia, from the Latin word *parere*, to bring forth, because prayers were then made for the fruitfulness of the sheep. According to Ovid (*Fast.* lib. iv.), the shepherds then made a great feast at night, and concluded the whole with dancing over the fires they had made in the fields with heaps of straw.

and moon, attended with an eclipse, the same that was observed by Antimachus, the Teian poet, in the third year of the sixth Olympiad.

Varro the philosopher, who of all the Romans was most skilled in history, had an acquaintance named Tarutius, who, besides his knowledge in philosophy and the mathematics, to indulge his speculative turn, had applied himself to astrology, and was thought to be a perfect master of it. To him Varro proposed to find out the day and hour of Romulus' birth, making his calculation from the known events of his life, as problems in geometry are solved by the analytic method, for it belongs to the same science, when a man's nativity is given, to predict his life, and when his life is given, to find out his nativity. Tarutius complied with the request, and when he had considered the disposition and actions of Romulus, how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and had put all these things together, he affirmed, without doubt or hesitation, that his conception was in the first year of the second Olympiad, on the twenty-third day of the month which the Egyptians call Choeac [Dec.], at the third hour, when the sun was totally eclipsed,¹ and that his birth was on the twenty-third day of the month Thoth [Sept.] about sunrise, and that he founded Rome on the ninth of the month Pharmuthi [April], between the second and third hour,² for it is supposed that the fortunes of cities, as well as men, have their proper periods determined by the position of the stars at the time of their nativity. These, and the like relations, may, perhaps, rather please the reader, because they are curious, than disgust him, because they are fabulous.

When the city was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of 3000 foot, and 300 horse,³ and was called a legion, because the most warlike persons were selected. The rest of the multitude he called The People. A hundred of the most considerable citizens he took for his council, with the title of Patricians,⁴ and the whole body was

¹ There was no total eclipse of the sun in the first year of the second Olympiad, but in the second year of that Olympiad there was. If Romulus was conceived in the year last named it will agree with the common opinion that he was eighteen years old when he founded Rome and that Rome was founded in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

² There is great disagreement among historians and chronologists as to the year of the foundation of Rome. Varro places it in the third year of the sixth Olympiad 753 years B.C., and Iulius Proter, who is the most ancient of all the Roman writers and followed by the learned Usher places it at the end of the seventh Olympiad which according to that prelate was in the year of the world 3856 and 748 B.C. But Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Solinus, and Lucebrus, place it in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

³ Instead of this Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us (lib. ii. p. 76) the whole colony consisted of but 3400 men. These Romulus divided into three equal parts which he called tribes or thirds, each of which was to be commanded by its prefect or tribune. The tribes are divided into ten curiae and these subdivided into ten decuriae. The number of houses, or rather huts, which was but 1000 bear witness to the truth of Dionysius's assertion. But it is probable the mean rabble, who took the protection of the asylum, and who might be very numerous, were not reckoned among the 3400 first colonists though they were afterwards admitted to the privileges of citizens.

⁴ The choice of these 100 persons was not made by the king himself, each tribe chose three senators and each of the thirty curiae the like number, which made in all the number of ninety nine, so that Romulus named only the hundredth, who

called the Senate, *which signifies an Assembly of Old Men*. Its members were styled Patricians; because, as some say, they were *fathers* of freeborn children; or rather, according to others, because they themselves had fathers to show, which was not the case with many of the rabble that first flocked to the city. Others derive the title from *Patrocinium*, or Patronage, attributing the origin of the term to one Patron, who came over with Evander, and was remarkable for his humanity and care of the distressed. But we shall be nearer the truth if we conclude that Romulus styled them Patricians, as expecting these respectable persons would watch over those in humble stations with a paternal care and regard; and teaching the commonalty in their turn not to fear or envy the power of their superiors, but to behave to them with love and respect, both looking upon them as fathers, and honouring them with that name. For at this very time foreign nations call the Senators Lords, but the Romans themselves call them Conscript Fathers, a style of greater dignity and honour, and withal much less invidious. At first, indeed, they were called Fathers only; but afterwards, when more were enrolled in their body, Conscript Fathers. With this venerable title, then, he distinguished the senate from the people. He likewise made another distinction between the nobility and the commons, calling the former Patrons,¹ and the other Clients; which was the source of mutual kindness and many good offices between them. For the Patrons were to those they had taken under their protection counsellors and advocates in their suits at law, and advisers and assistants on all occasions. On the other hand, the Clients failed not in their attentions, whether they were to be shown in deference and respect, or in providing their daughters portions, or in satisfying their creditors, if their circumstances happened to be narrow. No law or magistrate obliged the Patron to be evidence against his Client, or the Client against his Patron. But in after-times, though the other claims continued in full force, it was looked upon as ungenerous for persons of condition to take money of those below them.

In the fourth month after the building of the city,² as Fabius informs us, the rape of the Sabine women was put in execution. Some say, Romulus himself, who was naturally warlike and persuaded by certain oracles that the Fates had decreed Rome to obtain her greatness by military achievements, began hostilities against the Sabines, and seized only thirty virgins, being more

was the head, or prince of the senate, and the chief governor of the city, when the king was in the field.

¹ This patronage was an effectual as any consanguinity or alliance, and had a wonderful effect towards maintaining union among the people for the space of 620 years, during which time we find no dimensions or jealousies between the patrons and their clients, even in the time of the republic, when the populace frequently mutinied against those who

were most powerful in the city. At last the great sedition raised by Caius Gracchus broke in upon that harmony. Indeed, a client who was wanting in his duty to his patron, was deemed a traitor and an outlaw, and liable to be put to death by any person whatever. It may be proper to observe, that not only plebeians chose their patrons, but in time cities and states put themselves under the like protection.

² Gallus says it was in the fourth year

desirous of war than of wives for his people. But this is not likely. For, as he saw his city soon filled with inhabitants, very few of whom were married; the greatest part consisted of a mixed rabble of mean and obscure persons, to whom no regard was paid, and who were not expecting to settle in any place whatever, the enterprise naturally took that turn; and he hoped that from this attempt, though not a just one, some alliance and union with the Sabines would be obtained, when it appeared that they treated the women kindly. In order to this, he first gave out that he had found the altar of some god, which had been covered with earth. This deity they called Consus, meaning either the God of Counsel, (for with them the word *consilium* has that signification, and their chief magistrates afterwards were Consuls, persons who were to *consult the public good*;) or else the Equestrian Neptune; for the altar in the Circus Maximus¹ is not visible at other times, but during the Circensian games it is uncovered. Some say it was proper that the altar of that god should be under ground, because counsel should be as private and secret as possible. Upon this discovery, Romulus, by proclamation, appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice, with public games and shows. Multitudes assembled at the time, and he himself presided, sitting among his nobles, clothed in purple. As a signal for the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and fold it about him. Many of his people wore swords that day, and kept their eyes upon him, watching for the signal, which was no sooner given than they drew them, and rushing on with a shout, seized the daughters of the Sabines, but quietly suffered the men to escape. Some say only 30 were carried off, who each gave name to a tribe; but Valerius Antias makes their number 537; and according to Juba,² there were 683, all virgins. This was the best apology for Romulus; for they had taken but one married woman, named Hersilia, who was afterwards chiefly concerned in reconciling them; and her they took by mistake, as they were not incited to this violence by lust or injustice, but by their desire to conciliate and unite the two nations in the strongest ties. Some tell us Hersilia was married to Hostilius, one of the most eminent men among the Romans; others, that Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her; a daughter named Prima, on account of her being first born, and an only son, whom he called Aollius, because of the great concourse of people to him, but after ages, Abillius. This account we have from Zenodotus of Træzene, but he is contradicted in it by many other historians.

Among those that committed this rape, we are told, some of the meaner sort happened to be carrying off a virgin of uncommon beauty and stature; and when some of superior rank that met them

¹ That is, to say, in the place where Ancas Martius afterwards built the great arena for horse and chariot races.

² This was the son of Juba, king of Mauritania, who, being brought very

young a captive to Rome, was instructed in the Roman and Grecian literature, and became an excellent historian. Dionysius of Halicarnassus has followed his account.

attempted to take her from them, they cried out they were conducting her to Talasius, a young man of excellent character. When they heard this, they applauded their design, and some even turned back and accompanied them with the utmost satisfaction, all the way exclaiming Talasius. Hence this became a term in the nuptial songs of the Romans, as Hymenæus is in those of the Greeks; for Talasius is said to have been very happy in marriage. But Sextius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man beloved both by the Muses and Graces, told me that this was the word which Romulus gave as a signal for the rape. All of them, therefore, as they were carrying off the virgins, cried out Talasius; and thence it still continues the custom at marriages. Most writers, however, and Juba, in particular, are of opinion that it is only an incitement to good housewifery and spinning, which the word *Talasía* signifies; Italian terms being at that time thus mixed with Greek.¹ If this be right, and the Romans did then use the word *Talasía* in the same sense with the Greeks, another and more probable reason of the custom may be assigned. For when the Sabines, after the war with the Romans, were reconciled, *conditions were obtained for the women, that they should not be obliged by their husbands to do any other work besides spinning.* It was customary, therefore, ever after, that they who gave the bride, or conducted her home, or were present on the occasion, should cry out, amidst the mirth of the wedding, *Talasius*; intimating that she was not to be employed in any other labour but that of spinning. *And it is a custom still observed, for the bride not to go over the threshold of her husband's house herself, but to be carried over, because the Sabine virgins did not go in voluntarily, but were carried in by violence.* Some add, that the bride's hair is parted with the point of a spear, in memory of the first marriages being brought about in a warlike manner. This rape was com-

1 The original is manifestly corrupted; and all the former translations, following corrupt reading, assert what is utterly false, namely, "that no Greek terms were then mixed with the language of Italy." The contrary appears from Plutarch's Life of Numa, where Greek terms are mentioned as frequently used by the Romans. But not to have recourse to facts, let us inquire into the several former translations. The Latin runs thus: *Plerique (inter quos est Juba) authoritatem et institutionem ad laboris utilitatem et lanificium, quod Græci Talasiam dicunt, censent novum id tempore Italica verbis cum Græcis confusum.* The English thus: "But most are of opinion, and Juba, in particular, that this word *Talasius* was used to new married women, by way of incitement to good housewifery; for the Greek word *Talasía* signifies spinning, and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek." The French of Decler thus: "Cependant la plupart des auteurs croient, et Juba

est même de cette opinion, que ce mot n'étoit qu'une exhortation qu'on faisoit aux mariées d'aimer le travail, qui consiste à filer de la laine, que les Grecs appellent *Talasía*; car on se temelo la langue Grecque n'avoit pas encore été corrompue par les mots Latins." Thus they declare with one consent that the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek; though it appears from what was said immediately before that *Talasía*, a Greek term, was made use of in that language. If this wanted any further support, we might allege a passage from Plutarch's Marcellus, which, as well as that in the Life of Numa, is express and decisive. Speaking there of the dedication of the word *Feretrus*, an appellation which Jupiter probably first had in the time of Romulus, on occasion of his consecrating to him the *apollis optima*; one account he gives of the matter is that at that time the Greek language was much mixed with the Latin.

mitted on the eighteenth day of the month then called Sextilis [Aug.], at which time the feast of the Consualia is kept.

The Sabines were a numerous and warlike people, but they dwelt in unwall'd towns, thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians, to be bold and fearless. But as they saw themselves bound by such pledges, and were very solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with moderate and equitable demands: That he should return them the young women, and disavow the violence, and then the two nations should proceed to establish a correspondence, and contract alliances in a friendly and legal way. Romulus, however, refused to part with the young women, and entreated the Sabines to give their sanction to what had been done, whereupon some of them lost time in consulting and making preparations. But Acron, king of the Ceninensians, a man of spirit, and an able general, suspected the tendency of Romulus's first enterprises; and, when he had behaved so boldly in the rape, looked upon him as one that would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable to his neighbours, except he were chastised. Acron, therefore, went to seek the enemy, and Romulus prepared to receive him. When they came in sight, and had well viewed each other, a challenge for single combat was mutually given, their forces standing under arms in silence. Romulus on this occasion made a vow, that if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's arms to Jupiter; in consequence of which he both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined, routed his army and took his city. But he did no injury to its inhabitants, unless it were such to order them to demolish their houses, and follow him to Rome, as citizens entitled to equal privileges with the rest. Indeed, *there was nothing that contributed more to the greatness of Rome, than that she was always uniting and incorporating with herself those whom she conquered.* Romulus having considered how he should perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the procession most agreeable to his people, cut down a great oak that grew in the camp, and hewed it into the figure of a trophy; to this he fastened Acron's whole suit of armour, disposed in its proper form. Then he put on his own robes, and wearing a crown of laurel on his head, his hair gracefully flowing, he took the trophy erect upon his right shoulder, and so marched on, singing the song of victory before his troops, which followed completely armed, while the citizens received him with joy and admiration. *This procession was the origin and model of future triumphs.* The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius, so called from the Latin word *ferire*,¹ to smite; for Romulus had prayed that he might have power to smite his adversary and kill him. Varro says, this

¹ Or from the word *ferre*, to carry, because Romulus had himself carried to the Temple of Jupiter the armour of the king he had killed; or, more probably

from the Greek word *phætron*, which Livy calls in Latin *feruleum*, and which properly signifies a trophy.

sort of spoils is termed *opima*,¹ from *opes*, which signifies riches. But more probably they are so styled from *opus*, the meaning of which is action. For *when the general of an army kills the enemy's general with his own hand, then only he is allowed to consecrate the spoils called opima, as the sole performer of that action.*² This honour has been conferred only on three Roman chiefs; first on Romulus, when he slew Acron the Ceninensian; next on Cornelius Cossus, for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan; and lastly, on Claudius Marcellus, when Viridomarus, king of the Gauls, fell by his hand. Cossus and Marcellus bore, indeed, the trophies themselves, but drove into Rome in triumphal chariots. But Dionysius is mistaken in saying that Romulus made use of a chariot; for some historians assert that *Tarquinius, the son of Demaratus, was the first of the kings that advanced triumphs to this pomp and grandeur.* Others say, *Publicola was the first that led up this triumph in a chariot.* However, there are statues of Romulus bearing these trophies yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the defeat of the Ceninenses, while the rest of the Sabines were busied in preparations, the people of Fidenæ, Crustumenium, and Antemnæ, united against the Romans. A battle ensued, in which they were likewise defeated, and surrendered to Romulus, their cities to be spoiled, their lands to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands thus acquired he distributed among the citizens, except what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of their former owners. The rest of the Sabines, enraged at this, appointed Tatius their general, and carried war to the gates of Rome. The city was difficult of access, having a strong garrison on the hill where the Capitol now stands, commanded by Tarpeius, not by the virgin Tarpeia, as some say, who in this represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the governor's daughter, charmed with the golden bracelets of the Sabines, betrayed the fort into their hands, and asked, in return for her treason, what they wore on their left arms. Tatius agreeing to the condition, she opened one of the gates by night, and let in the Sabines. It seems it was not the sentiment of Antigonus alone, who said, "He loved men while they were betraying, but hated them when they had betrayed;" nor of Cæsar, who said, in the case of Rhymitalces the Thracian, "He loved the treason, but hated the traitor." But men are commonly affected towards villains, when they have occasion for, just as they are towards venomous creatures, which

¹ Festus derives the word *opima* from *ops*, which signifies the earth, and the riches it produces; so that *opima spolia*, according to that writer, signify rich spoils.

² This is Livy's account of the matter; but Varro, as quoted by Festus, tells us a Roman might be entitled to the *opima* though but a private soldier, *scilicet mansuetorarius*, provided he killed and

despoiled the enemy's general. Accordingly Cornelius Cossus had them, for killing Tolumnius, king of the Tuscans, though Cossus was but a tribune, who fought under the command of Æmilius Cossus, therefore, in all probability, did not enter Rome in a triumphal chariot, but followed that of his general, with the trophy on his shoulder.

they have need of for their poison and their gall. While they are of use they love them, but abhor them when their purpose is effected. Such were the sentiments of Tatius with regard to Tarpeia when he ordered the Sabines to remember their promise, and to grudge her nothing which they had on their left arms. He was the first to take off his bracelet, and throw it to her, and with that his shield.¹ As every one did the same, she was overpowered by the gold and shields thrown upon her, and sinking under the weight, expired. Tarpeius, too, was taken, and condemned by Romulus for treason, as Juba writes after Sulpitius Galba. As for the account given of Tarpeia by other writers, among whom Antigonus is one, it is absurd and incredible: They say that she was daughter to Tatius the Sabine general, and, being compelled to live with Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But the poet Simulus makes a most egregious blunder when he says, Tarpeia betrayed the Capitol, not to the Sabines, but to the Gauls, having fallen in love with their king. Thus he writes:—

From her high dome, Tarpeia, wretched maid,
To the fell Gauls the Capitol betrayed;
The hapless victim of unchaste desires,
She lost the fortress of her aspired sire.

And a little after, concerning her death,

No amorous Celt, no ferce Bavarian, bore
The fair Tarpeia to his stormy shore;
Press'd by those shields, whose splendour she admird,
She sunk, and in the shining death expired.

From the place where Tarpeia was buried the hill had the name of the Tarpeian, till Tarquin consecrated the place to Jupiter, at which time her bones were removed, and so it lost her name; except that part of the Capitol from which malefactors are thrown down, which is still called the Tarpeian rock. The Sabines thus possessed of the fort, Romulus in great fury offered them battle, which Tatius did not decline, as he saw he had a place of strength to retreat to, in case he was worsted. And, indeed, the spot on which he was to engage, being surrounded with hills, seemed to promise on both sides a sharp and bloody contest, because it was so confined, and the outlets were so narrow, that it was not easy either to fly or to pursue. It happened too, that, a few days before, the river had overflowed, and left a deep mud on the plain, where the Forum now stands; which, as it was covered with a crust, was not easily discoverable by the eye, but at the same time was soft underneath and impracticable. The Sabines, ignorant of this, were pushing forward into it, but by good fortune were prevented: For Curtius, a man of high distinction and spirit, being mounted on a good horse, advanced a considerable way

¹ Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner, because she acted a double part, and endeavoured

to betray the Sabines to Romulus, while she was pretending to betray the Romans to them.

before the rest.¹ Presently his horse plunged into the slough, and for a while he endeavoured to disengage him, encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows ; but finding all ineffectual, he quitted him, and saved himself. From him the place, to this very time, is called the Curtian Lake. The Sabines, having escaped this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The victory inclined to neither side, though many were slain, and among the rest Hostilius ; who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable, there were many other battles in a short time ; but the most memorable was the last ; in which Romulus, having received a blow upon the head with a stone, was almost beaten down to the ground, and no longer able to oppose the enemy ; then the Romans gave way, and were driven from the plain as far as the Palatine Hill. By this time Romulus, recovering from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and loudly called upon them to stand and renew the engagement. But when he saw the rout was general, and that no one had courage to face about, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stop the army, and to re-establish and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme danger. When the prayer was ended, many of the fugitives were struck with reverence for their king, and their fear was changed into courage. They first stopped where now stands the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, so called from his putting a stop to their flight. There they engaged again, and repulsed the Sabines as far as the palace now called Regia, and the temple of Vesta.

When they were preparing here to renew the combat with the same animosity as at first, their ardour was repressed by an astonishing spectacle, which the powers of language are unable to describe. The daughters of the Sabines, that had been forcibly carried off, appeared rushing this way and that with loud cries and lamentations, like persons distracted, amidst the drawn swords, and over the dead bodies, to come at their husbands and fathers ; some carrying their infants in their arms, some darting forward with dishevelled hair, but all calling by turns both upon the Sabines and the Romans, by the tenderest names. Both parties were extremely moved, and room was made for them between the two armies. Their lamentations pierced to the utmost ranks, and

¹ Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus relate the matter otherwise. They tell us, that Curtius at first repulsed the Romans ; but being in his turn overpowered by Romulus, and endeavouring to make good his retreat, he happened to fall into the lake, which from that time bore his name ; for it was called Lacus Curtius, even when it was dried up and almost in the centre of the Roman forum. Pausanias says, that the earth having opened, the Aruspices declared it necessary for the safety of the republic, that

the bravest man of the city should throw himself into the gulf ; whereupon, one Curtius, mounting on horseback, leaped armed into it, and the gulf immediately closed. Before the building of the common sewers, this pool was a sort of sink, which received all the filth of the city. Some writers think, that it received its name from Curtius, the consul, colleague to M. Cincinnatus, because he caused it to be walled in by the advice of the Aruspices, after it had been struck with lightning.—Varro de Ling. Lat. l. iv.

all were deeply affected; particularly when their upbraiding and complaints ended in supplication and entreaty. "What great injury have we done you," said they, "that we have suffered, and do still suffer, so many miseries? We were carried off, by those who now have us, violently and illegally. After this violence, we were so long neglected by our brothers, our fathers, and relations, that we were necessitated to unite in the strongest ties with those that were the objects of our hatred; and we are now brought to tremble for the men that had injured us so much, when we see them in danger, and to lament them when they fall. For you came not to deliver us from violence while virgins, or to avenge our cause, but now you tear the wives from their husbands, and the mothers from their children; an assistance more grievous to us than all your neglect and disregard. Such love we experienced from them, and such compassion from you. Were the war undertaken in some other cause, yet surely you would stop its ravages for us, who have made you fathers-in-law and grandfathers, or otherwise placed you in some near affinity to those whom you seek to destroy. But if the war be for us, take us, with your sons-in-law and their children, and restore us to our parents and kindred; but do not, we beseech you, rob us of our children and husbands, lest we become captives again." Hersilia having said a great deal to this purpose, and others joining in the same request, a truce was agreed upon, and the generals proceeded to a conference. In the meantime, the women presented their husbands and children to their fathers and brothers, brought refreshments to those that wanted them, and carried the wounded home to be cured. Here they showed them that they had the ordering of their own houses, what attentions their husbands paid them, and with what respect and indulgence they were treated. Upon this a peace was concluded, the conditions of which were, that such of the women as chose to remain with their husbands should be exempt from all labour and drudgery, except spinning; that the city should be inhabited by the Romans and Sabines in common, with the name of Rome, from Romulus; but that all the citizens, from Cures, the capital of the Sabines, and the country of Tattius, should be called Quirites;¹ and that the regal power, and the command of the army, should be equally shared between them. The place where these articles were ratified is still called Comitium,² from the Latin word *coire*, which signifies *to assemble*.

The city having doubled the number of its inhabitants, 100 additional senators were elected from among the Sabines, and the

¹ The word *Quiris*, in the Sabine language, signified both a dart, and a warlike deity armed with a dart. It is uncertain whether the god gave name to the dart, or the dart to the god; but, however that be, this god *Quiris* or *Quirinus* was either Mars or some other god of war, and was worshipped in Rome till Romulus, who

after his death was honoured with the name *Quirinus*, took his place.

² The Comitium was at the foot of the hill *Palatinus*, over against the Capitol. Not far from thence the two kings built the temple of *Vulcan*, where they usually met to consult the senate about the most important affairs.

legions were to consist of 6000 foot and 600 horse.¹ The people, too, were divided into three tribes, called Rhamnenses, from Romulus; Tatienses, from Tatius; and Lucerenses, from the *Lucus* or Grove where the asylum stood, whither many had fled, and were admitted citizens. That they were precisely three appears from the very name of Tribes, and that of their chief officers, who were called Tribunes. Each tribe contained ten *Curia* or Wards, which some say were called after the Sabine women. But this seems to be false; for many of them have their names from the several quarters of the city which were assigned to them. *Many honourable privileges, however, were conferred upon the women; some of which were these: That the men should give them the way wherever they met them; that they should not mention an obscene word, or appear naked before them; that, in case of their killing any person, they should not be tried before the ordinary judges; and that their children should wear an ornament about their necks, called Bulla,² from its likeness to a bubble, and a garment bordered with purple.* The two kings did not presently quit their councils; each meeting, for some time, their hundred senators apart; but afterwards they all assembled together. Tatius dwelt where the temple of Moneta now stands, and Romulus by the steps of the Fair Shore, as they are called, at the descent from the Palatine Hill to the Great Circus. There, we are told, grew the sacred Cornel-tree; the fabulous account of which is, that Romulus once, to try his strength, threw a spear, whose shaft was of cornel-wood, from Mount Aventine to that place; the head of which stuck so deep in the ground that no one could pull it out, though many tried; and the soil being rich, so nourished the wood that it shot forth branches, and became a trunk of cornel of considerable bigness. His posterity preserved it with a religious care, as a thing eminently sacred, and therefore built a wall about it: and when any one that approached it saw it not very flourishing and green, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently proclaimed it to all he met, who, as if they were to assist in case of fire, cried out for water, and ran from all quarters with full vessels to the place. But *when Caius*

¹ Ruanhi, in his animadversions upon Plutarch, has discovered two considerable errors in this place. The first is, that Plutarch affirms there were 600 horse put by Romulus in every legion, whereas there never were at any time so many in any of the legions. For there were at first 300 horse in each legion; after that they rose to 300, and at last to 600, but never came up to 600. In the second place, he tells us that Romulus made the legion to consist of 6000 foot, whereas in his time it was never more than 3000. It is said by some that Marius was the first who raised the legion to 6000; but Livy informs us that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus, long before Marius. After the expulsion of the kings, it was augmented from 3000 to 6000, and so on

time after to 8000, and at last, by Scipio, to 10000; but this was never done but upon pressing occasions. The stated force of a legion was 4000 foot and 200 horse.

² The young men, when they took upon them the *Toga virilis*, or man's robe, quitted the *Bulla*, which is supposed to have been a little hollow ball of gold, and made an offering of it to the *Diæ Lares*, or household gods. As to the *Prætexta*, or robe edged with purple, it is worn by girls till their marriage, and by boys till they were seventeen. But what in the time of Romulus was a mark of distinction for the children of the Sabine women, became afterwards very common; for even the children of the *Lætitii*, or freed men, wore it.

Caesar ordered the steps to be repaired, and the workmen were digging near it, it is said they inadvertently injured the roots in such a manner, that the tree withered away.

The Sabines received the Roman months. Romulus came into the use of their shields, making an alteration in his own armour, and that of the Romans, who, before, wore bucklers in the manner of the Greeks. They mutually celebrated each other's feasts and sacrifices, not abolishing those of either nation, but over and above appointing some new ones; one of which is the *Matronalia*,¹ instituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; and another the *Carmentalia*.² Carmenta is by some supposed to be one of the Destinies, who presides over human natiivities; therefore she is particularly worshipped by mothers. Others say, she was wife to Evander, the Arcadian, and a woman addicted to divination, who received inspirations from Apollo, and delivered oracles in verse; thence called Carmenta, for *carmina* signifies *verse*; but her proper name, as is agreed on all hands, was Nicostrata. Others, again, with greater probability assert that the former name was given her because she was distracted with enthusiastic fury; for *carere mente* signifies *to be insane*. Of the feast of the *Lupercalia*,³ it would seem to be a feast of lustration; for it was celebrated on one of the inauspicious days of the month of February, which name denotes it to be the month of Purifying; and the day was formerly called *Februata*. But the true meaning of *Lupercalia* is the Feast of Wolves; and it seems, for that reason, to be very ancient, as received from the Arcadians, who came over with Evander. This is the general opinion. But the term may be derived from *Lupa*, a *she wolf*; for we see the *Luperci* begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. However, if we consider the ceremonies, the reason of the name seems hard to guess: for first, goats are killed; then two noblemen's sons are introduced, and some are to stain their foreheads with a bloody knife, others to wipe off the stain directly with wool steeped in milk, which they bring for that purpose. When it is wiped off the young men are to laugh. After this they cut the goats' skins in pieces, and run about all naked, except their middle, and lash with those thongs all they meet. The young women avoid not the stroke, as they think it assists conception and childbirth. Another thing proper to this feast is for the *Luperci* to sacrifice a dog.

¹ During this feast, such of the Roman women as were married, served their slaves at table, and received presents from their husbands, as the husbands did from their wives in the time of the *Matronalia*. As the festival of the *Matronalia* was not only observed in honour of the Sabine women, but consecrated to Mars, and, as some will have it, to Juno Lucina, sacrifices were offered to both these deities. This feast was the subject of Horace's *Ode*; *Martius coelebs quid agam calandis*, etc., and Ovid describes it at large in the

third Book of *Pastorals*. Dacier says, by mistake, that this feast was kept on the first of April, instead of the first of March, and the former English annotator has followed him.

² This is a very solemn feast, kept on Jan 11, under the Capitol, near the Carmental gate. They begged of this god deus to render their women fruitful, and to give them happy deliveries.

³ This festival was celebrated on Feb 11, in honour of the God Pan.

Butas, who in his *Elegies* has given a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman institutions, writes, that when Romulus had overcome Amulius, in the transports of victory he ran with great speed to the place where the wolf suckled him and his brother when infants; and that this feast is celebrated, and the young noblemen run, in imitation of that action, striking all that are in their way :—

As the famed twins of Rome, Amulius slain,
From Alba pour'd, and with their reeking swords
Saluted all they met.—

And the touching of the forehead with a bloody knife is a symbol of that slaughter and danger, as the wiping off the blood with milk is in memory of their first nourishment. But Caius Acilius relates that before the building of Rome, Romulus and Remus having lost their cattle first prayed to Faunus for success in the search of them, and then ran out naked to seek them, that they might not be incommoded with sweat; therefore the Luperi run about naked. As to the dog, if this be a feast of lustration, we may suppose it is sacrificed, in order to be used in purifying; for the Greeks in their purifications make use of dogs, and perform the ceremonies which they call *periskulismoi*. But if these rites be observed in gratitude to the wolf that nourished and preserved Romulus, it is with propriety they kill a dog, because it is an enemy to wolves: yet, perhaps, nothing more was meant by it than to punish that creature for disturbing the Luperi in their running.

Romulus is likewise said to have introduced the Sacred Fire, and to have appointed the holy virgins, called Vestals.¹ Others attribute this to Numa, but allow that Romulus was remarkably strict in observing other religious rites, and skilled in divination, for which purpose he bore the *Lituus*. This is a crooked staff, with which those that sit to observe the flight of birds (the augurs) describe the several quarters of the heavens. It was kept in the Capitol, but lost when Rome was taken by the Gauls; afterwards, when the barbarians had quitted it, it was found buried deep in ashes, untouched by the fire, whilst every thing about it was destroyed and consumed. Romulus also enacted some laws; amongst the rest *that severe one which forbids the wife in any case to leave her husband;*² *but gives the husband power to divorce his wife, in case of her poisoning his children, or counterfeiting his keys, or being guilty of adultery. But if on any other occasion he put her away, she was to have one moiety of his*

¹ Plutarch means that Romulus was the first who introduced the Sacred Fire at Rome. That there were Vestal virgins, however, before this, at Alba, we are certain, because the mother of Romulus was one of them. The sacred and perpetual fire was not only kept up in Italy, but in Egypt, in Persia, in Greece, and almost in all nations.

² Yet this privilege, which Plutarch thinks a hardship upon the women, was

indulged the men by Moses in greater latitude. The women, however, among the Romans, came at length to divorce their husbands, as appears from Juvenal (Sat. 9) and Martial (l. x. ep. 41). At the same time it must be observed, to the honour of Roman virtue, that no divorce was known at Rome for five hundred and twenty years. One P. Servilius, or Carvilius Spurius, was the first of the Romans that ever put away his wife.

goods, and the other was to be consecrated to Ceres; and whoever put away his wife was to make an atonement to the gods of the earth. It is something particular, that *Romulus appointed no punishment for actual parricides, but called all murder parricide, looking upon this as abominable, and the other as impossible.* For many ages, indeed, he seemed to have judged rightly; *no one was guilty of that crime in Rome for almost six hundred years;* and Lucius Ostius, after the wars of Hannibal, is recorded to have been the first that murdered his father.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tatius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain ambassadors who were going from Laurentum to Rome,¹ attempted to rob them on the road, and, as they would not suffer it, but stood in their own defence, killed them. As this was an atrocious crime, Romulus required that those who committed it should immediately be punished, but Tatius hesitated and put it off. This was the first occasion of any open variance between them; for till now they had behaved themselves as if directed by one soul, and the administration had been carried on with all possible unanimity. The relations of those that were murdered, finding they could have no legal redress from Tatius, fell upon him and slew him at Lavinium, as he was offering sacrifice with Romulus;² but they conducted Romulus back with applause, as a prince who paid all proper regard to justice. To the body of Tatius he gave an honourable interment at Arministrum,³ on Mount Aventine; but he took no care to revenge his death on the persons that killed him. Some historians write, that the Laurentians in great terror gave up the murderers of Tatius; but Romulus let them go, saying, "Blood with blood should be repaid." This occasioned a report, and indeed a strong suspicion, that he was not sorry to get rid of his partner in the government. None of these things, however, occasioned any disturbance or sedition among the Sabines; but, partly out of regard for Romulus, partly out of fear of his power, or because they revered him as a god, they all continued well affected to him. This veneration for him extended to many other nations. The ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and entered into league and alliance with him. Fidenæ, a city in the neighbourhood of Rome, he took, as some say, by sending a body of horse before, with orders to break the hinges of the gates, and then appearing unexpectedly in person. Others will have it, that the Fidenates first attacked and ravaged the Roman territories, and were carrying off considerable booty,

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of Tatius's friends upon their territories; and that as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them and killed several of them. Lavinium and Laurentum were neighbouring towns in Latium.

² Probably this was a sacrifice to the

Diis Indigenæ of Latium, in which Rome was included. But Liginus writes, that Tatius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice, but that he went alone, to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

³ The place was so called, because of a ceremony of the same name, celebrated every year on Oct. 19th, when the troops were mustered and purified by sacrifices.

when Romulus lay in ambush for them, cut many of them off, and took their city. He did not, however, demolish it, but made it a Roman colony, and sent into it 2500 inhabitants on April 13th.

After this a plague broke out, so fatal, that people died of it without any previous sickness; while the scarcity of fruits, and barrenness of the cattle, added to the calamity. It rained blood, too, in the city; so that their unavoidable sufferings were increased with the terrors of superstition; and when the destruction spread itself to Laurentum, then all agreed, it was for neglecting to do justice on the murderers of the ambassadors and of Tatius, that the divine vengeance pursued both cities. Indeed, when those murderers were given up and punished by both parties, their calamities visibly abated; and Romulus purified the city with lustrations, which, they tell us, are yet celebrated at the Ferentine gate. Before the pestilence ceased, the people of Cameria¹ attacked the Romans, and overran the country, thinking them incapable of resistance by reason of the sickness. But Romulus soon met them in the field, gave them battle, in which he killed 6000 of them, took their city, and transplanted half its remaining inhabitants to Rome; adding, on Aug. 1st, to those he left in Cameria, double their number from Rome. So many people had he to spare in about sixteen years' time from the building of the city. Among other spoils, he carried from Cameria a chariot of brass, which he consecrated in the temple of Vulcan, placing upon it his own statue crowned by victory.

His affairs thus flourishing, the weaker part of his neighbours submitted, satisfied if they could but live in peace; but the more powerful, dreading or envying Romulus, thought they should not by any means let him go unnoticed, but oppose and put a stop to his growing greatness. The Veientes, who had a strong city and extensive country,² were the first of the Tuscans who began the war, demanding Fidenæ as their property. But it was not only unjust, but ridiculous, that they who had given the people of Fidenæ no assistance in the greatest extremities, but had suffered them to perish, should challenge their houses and lands now in the possession of other masters. Romulus, therefore, gave them a contemptuous answer; upon which they divided their forces into two bodies; one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ, and the other went to meet Romulus. That which went against Fidenæ defeated the Romans, and killed 2000 of them; but the other was beaten by Romulus, with the loss of more than 8000 men. They gave battle, however, once more, at Fidenæ, where all allow the victory was chiefly owing to Romulus himself, whose skill and courage were then remarkably displayed, and whose strength and swiftness appeared more than human. But what

¹ This was a town which Romulus had taken before. Its old inhabitants took this opportunity to rise in arms and kill the Roman garrison.

² Veii, the capital of Tuscan, was

situated on a craggy rock, about 100 furlongs from Rome; and is compared by Ptolemy of Hellenism to Athens for extent and riches.

some report is entirely fabulous, and utterly incredible, that there fell that day 14,000 men, above half of whom Romulus slew with his own hand. For even the Messenians seem to have been extravagant in their boasts, when they tell us Aristomenes offered a hecatomb three several times, for having as often killed 100 Lacedæmonians.¹ After the Veientes were thus ruined, Romulus suffered the scattered remains to escape, and marched directly to their city. The inhabitants could not bear up after so dreadful a blow, but humbly suing for a peace, obtained a truce for 100 years, by giving up a considerable part of their territory called Septempagium, which signifies a district of seven towns, together with the salt-pits by the river; besides which, they delivered into his hands 50 of their nobility as hostages. He triumphed for this on Oct. 15, leading up, among many other captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, who seemed on this occasion not to have behaved with the prudence which might have been expected from his age. Hence it is that, *to this day, when they offer a sacrifice for victory, they lead an old man through the Forum to the Capitol, in a boy's robe, edged with purple, with a bulla about his neck; and the herald cries "Sardians to be sold;"*² for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

This was the last of the wars of Romulus. After this he behaved as almost all men do who rise by some great and unexpected good fortune to dignity and power; for, exalted with his exploits, and loftier in his sentiments, he dropped his popular affability, and assumed the monarch to an odious degree. He gave the first offence by his dress; his habit being a purple vest, over which he wore a robe bordered with purple. He gave audience in a chair of state. He had always about him a number of young men called *Celeres*,³ from their dispatch in doing business; and before him went men with staves to keep off the populace, who also wore thongs of leather at their girdles, ready to bind directly any person he should order to be bound. This binding the Latins formerly called *ligare*,⁴ now *alligare*: whence those serjeants are called *Lictores*, and their rods *fusces*; for the sticks they used on that occasion were small. Though, perhaps, at first they were called *Litores*, and afterwards, by putting in a *c*, *Lictores*; for they are the same that the Greeks called *Leitourgoi* (officers for the people); and *leitōs*, in Greek, still signifies the *people*, but *laos* the *populace*.

¹ Pausanias confirms this account, mentioning both the time and place of these achievements, as well as the hecatomb offered on account of them to Jupiter Ithomates. Those wars between the Messenians and Spartans were about the time of Tullus Hostilius.

² The Veientes, with the other Hetrurians, were a colony of Lydrans, whose metropolis was the city of Sardis. Other writers derive this custom from the time of

the conquest of Sardinia by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, when such a number of slaves was brought from that island, that none were to be seen in the market but Sardinians.

³ Romulus ordered the *Curie* to choose him a guard of 30 men, ten out of each *Curie*; and these he called *Celeres*.

⁴ Plutarch had no critical skill in the Latin language.

When his grandfather Numitor died in Alba, though the crown undoubtedly belonged to him, yet, to please the people, he left the administration in their own hands; and over the Sabines¹ (in Rome) he appointed yearly a particular magistrate: thus teaching the great men of Rome to seek a free commonwealth without a king, and by turns to rule and to obey. For now the patricians had no share in the government, but only an honourable title and appearance, assembling in the senate-house more for form than business. There, with silent attention, they heard the king give his orders, and differed only from the rest of the people in this, that they went home with the first knowledge of what was determined. This treatment they digested as well as they could; but when of his own authority he divided the conquered lands among the soldiers, and restored the Veientes their hostages without the consent or approbation of the senate, they considered it as an intolerable insult. Hence arose strong suspicions against them, and Romulus soon after unaccountably disappeared. This happened on the 7th of July (as it is now called), then *Quintilis*: and we have no certainty of anything about it but the time; various ceremonies being still performed on that day with reference to the event. Nor need we wonder at this uncertainty, since, when Scipio Africanus was found dead in his house after supper,² there was no clear proof of the manner of his death: for some say that, being naturally infirm, he died suddenly; some that he took poison; and others that his enemies broke into his house by night and strangled him. Besides, all were admitted to see Scipio's dead body, and every one, from the sight of it, had his own suspicion or opinion of the cause. But as Romulus disappeared on a sudden, and no part of his body, or even his garments, could be found, some conjectured that the senators, who were convened in the temple of Vulcan, fell upon him and killed him; after which each carried a part away under his gown. Others say that his exit did not happen in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only, but while he was holding an assembly of the people without the city, at a place called the Goat's Marsh. The air on that occasion was suddenly convulsed and altered in a wonderful manner; for the light of the sun failed,³ and they were involved in an astonishing darkness, attended on every side with dreadful thunderings and tempestuous

¹ Xylander and H. Stephanus are rationally enough of opinion that instead of Sabines we should read Albans; and so the Latin translator renders it.

² This was Scipio, the son of Paulus Emilius, adopted by Scipio Africanus. As he constantly opposed the designs of the Gracchi, it was supposed that his wife Sempronius, who was sister to those seditionary men, took him off by poison. According to Valerius Maximus, no judicial inquiry was made into the cause of his death; and Victor tells us the corpse was carried out with the face covered with a

linen cloth, that the blackness of it might not appear.

³ Cicero mentions this remarkable darkness in a fragment of his sixth book *De Repub.* And it appears from the astronomical tables, that there was a great eclipse of the sun in the first year of the sixteenth Olympiad, supposed to be the year that Romulus died, on May 20th, which, considering the little exactness there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July.

winds. The multitude then dispersed and fled, but the nobility gathered into one body. When the tempest was over, and the light appeared again, the people returned to the same place, and a very anxious inquiry was made for the king; but the patricians would not suffer them to look closely into the matter. They commanded them to honour and worship Romulus, who was caught up to heaven, and who, as he had been a gracious king, would be to the Romans a propitious deity. Upon this the multitude went away with great satisfaction, and worshipped him, in hopes of his favour and protection. Some, however, searching more minutely into the affair, gave the patricians no small uneasiness; they even accused them of imposing upon the people a ridiculous tale, when they had murdered the king with their own hands.

While things were in this disorder, a senator, we are told, of great distinction, and famed for sanctity of manners, Julius Proculus by name,¹ who came from Alba with Romulus, and had been his faithful friend, went into the Forum, and declared upon the most solemn oaths, before all the people, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus met him, in a form more noble and august than ever, and clad in bright and dazzling armour. Astonished at the sight, he said to him, "For what misbehaviour of ours, O king, or by what accident have you so untimely left us, to labour under the heaviest calumnies, and the whole city to sink under inexpressible sorrow?" To which he answered, "It pleased the gods, my good Proculus, that we should dwell with men for a time; and after having founded a city which will be the most powerful and glorious in the world, return to heaven, from whence we came. Farewell, then, and go, tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall attain the highest pitch of human greatness; and I, the god Quirinus, will ever be propitious to you." This, by the character and oath of the relator, gained credit with the Romans, who were caught with the enthusiasm, as if they had been actually inspired; and, far from contradicting what they had heard, bade adieu to all their suspicions of the nobility, united in the deifying of Quirinus, and addressed their devotions to him. This is very like the Grecian fables concerning Aristeas, the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes, the Astypalesian. For Aristeas, as they tell us, expired in a fuller's shop; and when his friends came to take away the body, it could not be found. Soon after, some persons coming in from a journey said they met Aristeas travelling towards Croton. As for Cleomedes, their account of him is, that he was a man of gigantic size and strength; but behaving in a foolish and frantic manner, he was guilty of many acts of violence. At last he went into a school, where he struck the pillar that supported the roof with his fist, and broke it asunder, so that the roof fell in and destroyed the children. Pursued for this, he took refuge in a great chest, and having shut the lid upon him, he held it down so fast, that many men together could not force it open: when they

¹ A descendant of Iulus or Ascanius.

had cut the chest to pieces, they could not find him either dead or alive. Struck with this strange affair, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and had from the priestess this answer.

The race of heroes ends in Cleomedes.

It is likewise said, that the body of Alcmena was lost, as they were carrying it to the grave, and a stone was seen lying on the bier in its stead. Many such improbable tales are told by writers who wanted to deify beings naturally mortal. It is indeed impious and illiberal to leave nothing of divinity to virtue; but, at the same time, to unite heaven and earth in the same subject, is absurd. We should, therefore, reject fables, when we are possessed of undeniable truth; for, according to Pindar,

*The body yields to death's all-powerful summons,
While the bright image of eternity survives.*——

This alone is from the gods: from heaven it comes, and to heaven it returns; not indeed with the body; but when it is entirely set free and separate from the body, when it becomes disengaged from everything sensual and unholy. For in the language of Heraclitus, the pure soul is of superior excellence,¹ darting from the body like a flash of lightning from a cloud; but the soul that is carnal and immersed in sense,² like a heavy and dark vapour, with difficulty is kindled and aspires. There is, therefore, no occasion, against nature, to send the bodies of good men to heaven; but we are to conclude that virtuous souls, by nature and the divine justice, rise from men to heroes, from heroes to genii, and at last, if, as in the mysteries, they be perfectly cleansed and purified, shaking off all remains of mortality, and all the power of the passions, then they finally attain the most glorious and perfect happiness, and ascend from genii to gods, not by the vote of the people, but by the just and established order of nature.³

The surname that Romulus had of Quirinus, some think, was given him, as (another) Mars; others, because they call the

¹ This is a very difficult passage, which, however excellent the sentiment, has borrowed from the Scripture, where it is found that God is *light*, is by no means the sense of the original. Decker has translated it literally *forma cæci*, and remarks the propriety of the expression, with respect to that position of Heraclitus, that fire is the first principle of all things. The French critic went upon the supposed analogy between fire and dryness; but there is a much more natural and more obvious analogy, which may help us to the interpretation of this passage; that is, the near relation which dryness has to purity or cleanliness.

² Milton, in his *Comus*, uses the same comparison; for which, however, he is indebted rather to Plato than to Plutarch.

——The lavish seat of sin
Lies in declivity to the toward parts

The soul grows clothed by contagion, immodesty, and immodesty, till she quite lose The divine property of her first being. Much are their thick and gloomy shadows damp (not seen in charnel vaults and sepulchres, lingering and sitting by a new-made grave, As loath to leave the body that it loves, And hails itself by mortal sensuality To a degenerate and degraded state.

³ Hesiod was the first who distinguished these four natures, men, heroes, genii, and gods. He saw room, it seems, for perpetual progression and improvement in a state of immortality. And when the heathens tell us that before the last degree, that of divinity, is reached, those beings are liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness, one would imagine they had heard something of the fallen angels.

Roman citizens Quirites, others, again, because the ancients gave the name of Quiris to the point of a spear, or to the spear itself, and that of Juno Quiritis, to the statues of Juno when she was represented leaning on a spear. Moreover, they styled a certain spear, which was consecrated in the palace, Mars, and those that distinguished themselves in war were rewarded with a spear. Romulus, then, as a martial or warrior god, was named Quirinus, and the hill on which his temple stands has the name of Quirinalis on his account. The day on which he disappeared is called *the flight of the people*, and *Nona Caprotina*, because then they go out of the city to offer sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh. On this occasion they pronounce aloud some of their proper names, Marcus and Caius for instance, representing the flight that then happened, and their calling upon one another, amidst the terror and confusion. Others, however, are of opinion that this is not a representation of flight, but of haste and eagerness, deriving the ceremony from this source. When the Gauls, after the taking of Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city thus weakened did not easily recover itself, many of the Latins, under the conduct of Livius Posthumus, marched against it. This army sitting down before Rome, a herald was sent to signify that the Latins were desirous to renew their old alliance and affinity, which was now declining, by new intermarriages. If, therefore, they would send them a good number of their virgins and widows, peace and friendship should be established between them, as it was before with the Sabines on the like occasion. When the Romans heard this, though they were afraid of war, yet they looked upon the giving up of their women as not at all more eligible than captivity. While they were in this suspense, a servant maid, named Philotes, or, according to others, Tutola, advised them to do neither, but by a stratagem (which she had thought of) to avoid both the war and the giving of hostages. The stratagem was to dress Philotes herself, and other handsome female slaves, in good attire, and send them, instead of freeborn virgins, to the enemy. Then, in the night, Philotes was to light up a torch, as a signal for the Romans to attack the enemy, and dispatch them in their sleep. The Latins were satisfied, and the scheme put in practice. For accordingly Philotes did set up a torch on a wild fig tree, screening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the sight of the enemy, whilst it was visible to the Romans. As soon as they beheld it, they set out in great haste, often calling upon each other at the gates to be expeditious. Then they fell upon the Latins, who expected nothing less, and cut them in pieces. Hence this feast in memory of the victory. The day was called *Nona Caprotina*, on account of the *wild fig-tree*, in the Roman tongue, *caprificus*. The women are entertained in the fields, in booths made of the branches of the fig tree and the servant maids in companies run about and play, afterwards they come to blows, and throw stones at one another, in remembrance of their then assisting and standing by the Romans in the battle. These particulars are admitted but by few historians. Indeed, their calling

upon each other's names in the daytime, and their walking in procession to the *Goat's Marsh*, like persons that were going to a sacrifice, seems rather to be placed to the former account, though possibly both these events might happen, in distant periods, on the same day. Romulus is said to have been 54 years of age, and in the 38th of his reign,¹ when he was taken from the world.

NUMA.

THERE is likewise a great diversity amongst historians about the time in which king Numa lived, though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with sufficient accuracy. However, a certain writer called Clodius, in his emendations of chronology, affirms that the ancient archives were destroyed when Rome was sacked by the Gauls; and that those which are now shown as such were forged in favour of some persons who wanted to stretch their lineage far back, and to deduce it from the most illustrious houses. Some say that Numa was the scholar of Pythagoras,² but others contend that he was unacquainted with the Grecian literature, either alleging that his own genius was sufficient to conduct him to excellence, or that he was instructed by some *barbarian* philosopher superior to Pythagoras. Some, again, affirm that Pythagoras of Samos flourished about five generations below the times of Numa: but that Pythagoras the Spartan, who won the prize at the Olympic race in the sixteenth Olympiad (about the third year of which it was that Numa came to the throne), travelling into Italy, became acquainted with that prince, and assisted him in regulating the government. Hence many Spartan customs, taught by Pythagoras, were intermixed with the Roman. But this mixture might have another cause, as Numa was of Sabine extraction, and the Sabines declared themselves to have been a Lacedæmonian colony.³ It is difficult, however, to adjust the times exactly, particularly those that are only distinguished with the names of the Olympic conquerors; of which we are told Hippias, the Ælean, made a collection

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (and indeed Plutarch himself, in the beginning of the life of Numa) says, that Romulus left the world in the thirty-seventh year after the foundation of Rome. But perhaps those two historians may be reconciled as to the age he died at. For Plutarch says, he was then full fifty-four years of age, and Dionysius that he was in his fifty-fifth year. — *Vide* PLAT. CONVIV.

² Pythagoras the philosopher went not into Italy till the reign of the elder Tarquin, which was in the fifty-first Olympiad, and four generations (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us) after Numa.

³ The same Dionysius informs us, that he found in the history of the Sabines, that, while Lycorgus was guardian to his nephew Euromus (Charilæus it should be) some of the Lacedæmonians, unable to endure the severity of his laws, fled into Italy, and settled first at Pometia; from whence several of them removed into the country of the Sabines, and, uniting with that people, taught them their customs: particularly those relating to the conduct of war, to fortitude, patience, and abstemious manner of living. This colony, then, settled in Italy 130 years before the birth of Numa.

at a late period without sufficient vouchers. We shall now relate what we have met with most remarkable concerning Numa, beginning from that point of time which is most suitable to our purpose.

It was in the thirty-seventh year from the building of Rome, and of the reign of Romulus, on the seventh of the month of July (which day is now called *Nonæ Capruinæ*) when that prince went out of the city to offer a solemn sacrifice at a place called the *Goat's-Market*, in the presence of the senate and great part of the people. Suddenly there happened a great alteration in the air, and the clouds burst in a storm of wind and hail. The rest of the assembly were struck with terror and fled, but Romulus disappeared, and could not be found either alive or dead. Upon this the senators fell under a violent suspicion, and a report was propagated against them among the people, that having long been weary of the yoke of kingly government, and desirous to get the power into their own hands, they had murdered the king. Particularly as he had treated them for some time in an arbitrary and imperious manner. But they found means to obviate this suspicion, by paying divine honours to Romulus as a person that had been privileged from the fate of other mortals, and was only removed to a happier scene. Proculus, a man of high rank, made oath that he saw Romulus carried up to heaven in complete armour, and heard a voice commanding that he should be called *Quirinus*.

Fresh disturbances and tumults arose in the city about the election of a new king, the later inhabitants being not yet thoroughly incorporated with the first, the commonalty fluctuating and unsettled in itself, and the patricians full of animosity and jealousies of each other. All, indeed, agreed that a king should be appointed, but they differed and debated, not only about the person to be fixed upon, but from which of the two nations he should be elected. For neither could they who, with Romulus, built the city, endure that the Sabines, who had been admitted citizens, and obtained a share of the lands, should attempt to command those from whom they had received such privileges; nor yet could the Sabines depart from their claim of giving a king in their turn to Rome, having this good argument in their favour, that upon the death of Tatius they had suffered Romulus peaceably to enjoy the throne without a colleague. It was also to be considered that they did not come as inferiors to join a superior people, but by their rank and number added strength and dignity to the city that received them. These were the arguments on which they founded their claims. Lest this dispute should produce an utter confusion whilst there was no king, nor any steersman at the helm, the senators made an order that 150 members who composed their body¹ should

¹ According to our author in the life of Romulus, the number of the senators was 100. Dionysius says that writers differed in this particular, some affirming that 100 senators were added to the original num-

ber upon the union of the Sabines with the Romans; and others that only 50 were added. Livy gives the most probable account of the manner of the *interregnum*. The senators, he says, divided themselves

each, in his turn, be attired in the robes of state; in the room of *Quirinus* offer the stated sacrifices to the gods, and despatch the whole public business, six hours in the day, and six hours at night. This distribution of time seemed well contrived, in point of equality, amongst the regents, and the change of power from hand to hand prevented its being obnoxious to the people, who saw the same person in one day and one night reduced from a king to a private man. This occasional administration the Romans call an *Interregnum*.

But though the matter was managed in this moderate and popular way, the senators could not escape the suspicions and complaints of the people, that they were changing the government into an oligarchy, and as they had the direction of all affairs in their hands, were unwilling to have a king. At last it was agreed between the two parties, that one nation should choose a king out of the whole body of the other. This was considered as the best means of putting a stop to the present contention, and of inspiring the king with an affection for both parties, since he would be gracious to these, because they had elected him, and to those as his kindred and countrymen. The Sabines leaving the Romans to their option, they preferred a Sabine king of their own electing, to a Roman chosen by the Sabines. Consulting, therefore, among themselves,¹ they fixed upon Numa Pompilius, a Sabine, who was not of the number of those that had migrated to Rome, but so celebrated for virtue, that the Sabines received the nomination even with greater applause than the Romans themselves. When they had acquainted the people with their resolution, they sent the most eminent personages of both nations ambassadors, to entreat him to come and take upon him the government.

Numa was of Cures, a considerable city of the Sabines, from which the Romans, together with the incorporated Sabines, took the name of *Quirites*. He was the son of a person of distinction named Pomponius, and the youngest of four brothers. It seemed to be by the direction of the gods, that he was born on April 21, the same day that Rome was founded by Romulus. His mind was naturally disposed to virtue; and he still further subdued it by discipline, patience, and philosophy, not only purging it of the grosser and more infamous passions, but even of that ambition and rapaciousness which was reckoned honourable amongst the *barbarians*: persuaded that *true fortitude consists in the conquest of appetites by reason*. On this account he banished all luxury and splendour from his house; and both the citizens and strangers found in him a faithful counsellor, and an upright judge

into decuries or tens. These decuries drew lots which should govern first; and the decury to whom lot it fell enjoyed the supreme authority for five days; yet, in such a manner that one person only of the governing decury had the ensigns of sovereignty at a time.

¹ The *interrex*, for the time being, hav-

ing summoned the people, addressed them thus: "Romans, elect yourselves a king; the senate give their consent; and, if you choose a prince worthy to succeed Romulus, the senate will confirm your choice." The people were so well pleased with this condescension of the senate that they remitted the choice to them.

As for his hours of leisure, he spent them not in the pursuits of pleasure, or schemes of profit, but in the worship of the gods, and in rational inquiries into their nature and their power. His name became at length so illustrious that Tatius, who was the associate of Romulus in the kingdom, having an only daughter named Tatia, bestowed her upon him. He was not, however, so much elated with this match as to remove to the court of his father-in-law, but continued in the country of the Sabines, paying his attentions to his own father, who was now grown old. Tatia was partaker of his retirement, and preferred the calm enjoyment of life with her husband in privacy, to the honours and distinction in which she might have lived with her father at Rome. Thirteen years after their marriage she died.

Numa then left the society of the city, and passed his time in wandering about alone in the sacred groves and lawns, in the most retired and solitary places. Hence the report concerning the goddess Egeria chiefly took its rise;¹ and it was believed it was not from any inward sorrow or melancholy turn that he avoided human conversation, but from his being admitted to that which was more venerable and excellent, from the honour he had of a familiar intercourse with a divinity that loved him, which led him to happiness and knowledge more than mortal. It is obvious enough, how much this resembles many of the ancient stories received and delivered down by the Phrygians of Atys,² the Bithynians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion: to whom might be added many others, who were thought to have attained to superior felicity, and to be loved in an extraordinary manner by the gods. And, indeed, it is rational enough to suppose, that the deity would not place his affection upon horses or birds, but rather upon human beings, eminently distinguished by virtue; and that he neither dislikes nor disdains to hold conversation with a man of wisdom and piety. But that a *divinity* should be captivated with the external beauty of any human body is irrational to believe. The Egyptians, indeed, make a distinction in this case, which they think not an absurd one, that it is not impossible for a woman to be impregnated by the approach of some divine spirit; but that a man can have no corporeal intercourse with a goddess. But they do not, however, consider that a mixture, be it of what

¹ Numa's inclination to solitude, and his custom of retiring into the secret places of the forest of Aricia, gave rise to several popular opinions. Some believed that the nymph Egeria herself dictated to him the laws, both civil and religious, which he established. And, indeed, he declared so himself, in order to procure a divine sanction to them. But, as no great man is without aspirers, others have thought, that under this affected passion for woods and caves was concealed another more real and less chaste. This gave occasion to that *sermon* of Juvenal

in speaking of the grove of Egeria (*Sat. iii. ver. 13*)

His ubi nocturnæ Numæ constitabat amplex

Ovid says, that to remove her grief for the loss of Numa, Diana changed her into a fountain which still bears her name—*Metam.* l. xv.

² Atys was said to be beloved by the goddess Cybele, and Endymion by Diana; but we believe there is nowhere else any mention made of this Herodotus, or Rhodotus, as I gather from his MS. call him.

sort it may, equally communicates its being. In short, the regard which the gods have for men, though, like a human passion, it be called love, must be employed in forming their manners, and raising them to higher degrees of virtue. In this sense we may admit the assertion of the poets, that Phorbos,¹ Hyacinthus, and Admetus, were beloved by Apollo; and that Hippolytus, the Sicyonian, was equally in his favour; so that whenever he sailed from Cirrha to Sicyon, the priestess, to signify Apollo's satisfaction, repeated this heroic verse :—

He comes,—again the much-loved hero comes.

It is also fabled that Pan was in love with Pindar² on account of his poetry; and that Archilochus and Hesiod,³ after their death, were honoured by the heavenly powers for the same reason. Sophocles, too, was blessed in his lifetime with the conversation of the god Æsculapius, of which many proofs still remain; and another deity procured him burial.⁴ Now, if we admit that these were so highly favoured, shall we deny that Zaleucus,⁵ Minos, Zoroaster, Numa, and Lycurgus, kings and lawgivers, were happy in the same respect? Nay, rather we shall think that the gods might seriously converse with such excellent persons as these, to instruct and encourage them in their great attempts; whereas, if they indulged poets and musicians in the same grace, it must be by way of diversion. To such as are of another opinion, I shall say, however, with Bacchylides, *The way is broad*. For it is no unpalatable account of the matter which others give, when they tell us that Lycurgus, Numa, and other great men, finding their people difficult to manage, and alterations to be made in their several governments, *pretended commissions from heaven, which were salutary, at least to those for whom they were invented*.

¹ Phorbos was the son of Triopes, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents that infested their island, and particularly from one furious dragon that had devoured a great many people. He was, therefore, supposed to be dear to Apollo, who had slain the Python. After his death he was placed in the heavens, with the dragon he had destroyed, in the constellation Ophiucus or Serpentarius. Hyacinthus was the son of Amyclas, founder of the city of Amyclæ, near Sparta. He was beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus, and was killed in a fit of jealousy by the latter, who, with a puff of wind, caused a quail thrown by Apollo to fall upon his head. He was changed into a flower which bears his name. PAUSAN., De Laconic. l. III. OVID. Metam. l. x. fab. 5. Admetus was the son of Phereas, king of Thebes. It is said that Apollo kept his sheep.

² Pindar had a particular devotion for the god Pan, and therefore took up his

abode near the temple of Rhea and Pan. He composed the hymns which the Theban virgins sung on the festival of that deity; and it is said he had the happiness to hear Pan himself singing one of his odes.

³ Archilochus was slain by a soldier of Naxos, who was obliged by the priestess of Apollo to make expiation for having killed a man consecrated to the muses.—As for Hesiod, the Orchomenians, a people of Boeotia, being terribly afflicted by a plague, were ordered by the oracle to remove the bones of that poet from Neapactus in Ætolia into their country.

⁴ Sophocles died at Athens, while Ly-mander was carrying on the siege of the city; and Bacchus is said to have appeared to the Spartan general in a dream, and ordered him to permit the new Athenian Syren to be buried at Decælia.

⁵ Zaleucus gave laws to the Locrians in Magna Græcia; Zoroaster, one of the magi, and King of the Bactrians, to his own subjects; and Minos to the people of Crete.

Numa was now in his fortieth year, when ambassadors came from Rome to make him an offer of the kingdom. The speakers were Proculus and Velesus, whom the people before had cast their eyes upon for the royal dignity, the Romans being attached to Proculus, and the Sabines to Velesus. As they imagined that Numa would gladly embrace his good fortune, they made but a short speech. They found it, however, no easy matter to persuade him, but were obliged to make use of much entreaty to draw him from that peaceful retreat he was so fond of to the government of a city, born, as it were, and brought up in war. In the presence, therefore, of his father, and one of his kinsmen, named Marcius, he gave them this answer: "Every change of human life has its dangers; but when a man has a sufficiency for everything, and there is nothing in his present situation to be complained of, what but madness can lead him from his usual track of life, which, if it has no other advantage, has that of certainty, to experience another as yet doubtful and unknown? But the dangers that attend his government are beyond an uncertainty, if we may form a judgment from the fortunes of Romulus, who laboured under the suspicion of taking off Tatius, his colleague, and was supposed to have lost his own life with equal injustice. Yet Romulus is celebrated as a person of divine origin, as supernaturally nourished when an infant, and most wonderfully preserved. For my part, I am only of mortal race, and you are sensible my nursing and education boast of nothing extraordinary. As for my character, if it has any distinction, it has been gained in a way not likely to qualify me for a king, in scenes of repose and employments by no means arduous. My genius is inclined to peace, my love has long been fixed upon it, and I have studiously avoided the confusion of war. I have also drawn others, so far as my influence extended, to the worship of the gods, to mutual offices of friendship, and to spend the rest of their time in tilling the ground and feeding cattle. The Romans may have unavoidable wars left upon their hands by their late king, for the maintaining of which you have need of another more active and more enterprising. Besides, the people are of a warlike disposition, spirited with success, and plainly enough discover their inclination to extend their conquests. Of course, therefore, a person who has set his heart upon the promoting of religion and justice, and drawing men off from the love of violence and war, would soon become ridiculous and contemptible to a city that has more occasion for a general than a king."

Numa in this manner declining the crown, the Romans, on the other hand, exerted all their endeavours to obviate his objections, and begged of him not to throw them into confusion and civil war again, as there was no other whom both parties would unanimously elect. When the ambassadors had retired, his father and his friend Marcius privately urged him, by all the arguments in their power, to receive this great and valuable gift of heaven. "If contented," said they, "with a competence, you desire not riches, nor aspire after the honour of sovereignty, having a higher and better distinc-

tion in virtue ; yet consider that a king is the minister of God, who now awakens and puts in action your native wisdom and justice. Decline not, therefore, an authority, which to a wise man is a field for great and good actions ; where dignity may be added to religion, and men may be brought over to piety, in the easiest and readiest way, by the influence of the prince. Tatius, though a stranger, was beloved by this people, and they pay divine honours to the memory of Romulus. Besides, who knows, as they are victorious, but they may be satiated with war, and having no further wish for triumphs and spoils, may be desirous of a mild and just governor for the establishing of good laws and the settling of peace ? But should they ever be so ardently inclined to war, yet is it not better to turn their violence another way, and to be the centre of union and friendship between the country of the Sabines, and so great and flourishing a state as that of Rome ?" These inducements, we are told, were strengthened by auspicious omens, and by the zeal and ardour of his fellow-citizens, who, as soon as they had learned the subject of the embassy, went in a body to entreat him to take the government upon him, as the only means to appease all dissensions, and effectually incorporate the two nations into one.

When he had determined to go, he offered sacrifice to the gods, and then set forward to Rome. Struck with love and admiration of the man, the senate and people met him on the way ; the women welcomed him with blessings and shouts of joy ; the temples were crowded with sacrifices ; and so universal was the satisfaction, that the city might seem to have received a kingdom, instead of a king. When they were come into the *Forum*, Spurius Vettius, whose turn it was then to be *Interrex*, put it to the vote, whether Numa should be king, and all the citizens agreed to it with one voice. The robes and other distinctions of royalty then were offered him, but he commanded them to stop, as his authority yet wanted the sanction of heaven. Taking therefore with him the priests and *augurs*, he went up to the *Capitol*, which the Romans at that time called the *Tarpeian* rock. There the chief of the *augurs* covered the head of Numa,¹ and turned his face towards the south ; then standing behind him, and laying his right hand upon his head, he offered up his devotions, and looked around him, in hopes of seeing birds, or some other signal from the gods. An incredible silence reigned among the people, anxious for the event, and lost in suspense, till the auspicious birds appeared and passed on the right hand. Then Numa took the royal robe and went down from the mount to the people, who received him with loud acclamations, as the most pious of men, and most beloved of the gods.

His first act of government was to discharge the body of 300

¹ So it is in the text of Plutarch, as it now stands ; but it appears from Livy that the *augur* covered his own head, not that of Numa, *Augur ad locum cœci, capite velato, sed in capite, etc.* And,

indeed, the *augur* always covered his head in a gown peculiar to his office, called *lana*, when he made his observations.

men, called *Celeres*,¹ whom Romulus always kept about his person as guards; for he neither chose to distrust those who put a confidence in him, nor to reign over a people that could distrust him. In the next place, to the priests of Jupiter and Mars he added one for Romulus, whom he styled *Flamen Quirinalis*. *Flamines* was a common name for priests before that time, and it is said to have been corrupted from *Pilamines*, a term derived from *Piloi*, which in Greek signifies *caps*,² (for they wore, seems, a kind of caps or hoods); and the Latin language had many more Greek words mixed with it then than it has at this time. Thus royal mantles were by the Romans called *Kana*, which Juba assures us was from the Greek *Chlana*, and the name of *Camillus*,³ given to the youth who served in the temple of Jupiter, and who was to have both his parents alive, was the same which some of the Greeks give to Mercury, on account of his being an attendant of that god.

Numa having settled these matters with a view to establish himself in the people's good graces, immediately after attempted to soften them, as iron is softened by fire, and to bring them from a violent and warlike disposition, to a juster and more gentle temper. For, if any city ever was in a state of inflammation, as Plato expresses it, Rome certainly was, being composed at first of the most hardy and resolute men, whom boldness and despair had driven thither from all quarters, nourished and grown up to power by a series of wars, and strengthened even by blows and conflicts, as piles fixed in the ground become firmer under the strokes of the hammer. Persuaded that no ordinary means were sufficient to form and reduce so high-spirited and untractable a people to mildness and peace, he called in the assistance of religion. By sacrifices, religious dances, and processions, which he appointed, and wherein himself officiated, he contrived to mix the charms of festivity and social pleasure with the solemnity of the ceremonies. Thus he soothed their minds, and calmed their fierceness and martial fire. Sometimes, also, by acquainting them with prodigies from heaven, by reports of dreadful apparitions and menacing voices, he inspired them with terror and humbled them with superstition. This was the principal cause of the report, that he drew his wisdom from the sources of Pythagoras: for a great part of the philosophy of the latter, as well as the government of the former, consisted in religious attentions and the worship of the gods. It is likewise said, that his solemn appearance and air of sanctity was copied from Pythagoras. That philosopher had so far tamed an

¹ Numa did not make use of them as guards, but as inferior ministers, who were to take care of the sacrifices, under the direction of the tribunes, who had commanded them in their military capacity.

² Others think they took their names from the flame-coloured tufts they had on their caps. They were denominated from the particular god to whom their ministry

was confined, as *Flamen Dialis*, the Priest of Jupiter; *Flamen Martialis*, the Priest of Mars.

³ *Camillus* is derived from the Boeotian *Kadmulos*, which properly signifies a servant. In every temple there was a youth of quality, whose business it was to minister to the priest. It was necessary that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive.

eagle that, by pronouncing certain words, he could stop it in its flight, or bring it down; and passing through the multitudes assembled at the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh; besides other arts and actions, by which he pretended to something supernatural. This led Timon the Philasian to write,

To catch applause Pythagoras affects
A solemn air and grandeur of expression.

But Numa feigned that some goddess or mountain nymph favoured him with her private regards, and that he had frequent conversations with the muses. To the latter he ascribed most of his revelations; and there was one in particular that he called *Tacita*, as much as to say, the *muse of silence*,¹ whom he taught the Romans to distinguish with their veneration. By this, too, he seemed to show his knowledge and approbation of the Pythagorean precept of silence.

His regulations concerning images seem likewise to have some relation to the doctrine of Pythagoras; who was of opinion that the First Cause was not an object of sense, nor liable to passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and discernible only by the mind. Thus *Numa forbade the Romans to represent the Deity in the form either of man or beast*. Nor was there among them formerly any image or statue of the Divine Being: during the 170 years they built temples, indeed, and other sacred domes, but placed in them no figure of any kind: persuaded that it is impious to represent things divine by what is perishable, and that we can have no conception of God but by the understanding. His sacrifices, too, resembled the Pythagorean worship: for they were *without any effusion of blood*, consisting chiefly of flour, libations of wine, and other very simple and inexpensive things.

To these arguments other circumstances are added, to prove that these two great men were acquainted with each other. One of which is, that Pythagoras was enrolled a citizen of Rome. This account we have in an address to Antenor from Epicharmus,² a writer of comedy, and a very ancient author, who was himself of the school of Pythagoras. Another is, that Numa having four sons,³ called one of them Mamercus, after the name of a son of Pythagoras. From him too, they tell us, the Æmilian family is descended, which is one of the noblest in Rome; the king having given him the surname of Æmilius, on account of his graceful and engaging manner of speaking. And I have myself been informed by several persons in Rome, that the Romans being commanded by the oracle

¹ In the city of Erythrae, there was a temple of Minerva, where the priestess was called *Harychia*, that is, *the composed, the silent*.

² According to the *Marmorum Oxon.* Epicharmus flourished B.C. 472; and it is certain it must have been about that time because he was at the court of Hiero.

³ Some writers, to countenance the vanity of certain noble families in Rome,

in deducing their genealogy from Numa, have given that prince four sons. But the common opinion is, that he had only one daughter, named Pompilia. The Æmili were one of the most considerable families in Rome, and branched into the Lepidi, the Pauli, and the Papi. The word *Amicus* or *Amylus*, in Greek, signifies gentle, graceful.

to erect two statues,¹ one to the wisest, and the other to the bravest of the Grecians, set up in brass the figures of Pythagoras and Alcibiades.

To Numa is attributed the institution of the high order of priests called *Pontifices*,² over which he is said to have presided himself. Some say they were called *Pontifices*, as employed in the service of those *powerful* gods that govern the world; for *potens* in the Roman language signifies *powerful*. Others, from their being ordered by the lawgiver to perform such secret offices as were in their *power*, and standing excused when there was some great impediment. But most writers assign a ridiculous reason for the term as if they were called *Pontifices* from their offering sacrifices upon the *bridge*, which the Latins call *pontem*, such kind of ceremonies it seems being looked upon as the most sacred, and of greatest antiquity. These priests, too, are said to have been commissioned to keep the bridges in repair, as one of the most indispensable parts of their holy office. For the Romans considered it as an execrable impiety to demolish the wooden bridge; which, we are told, was built without iron, and put together with pins of wood only, by the direction of some oracle. The stone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was quæstor. Some, however, inform us that the wooden bridge was not constructed in the time of Numa, having the last hand put to it by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter.

The *pontifex maximus*, chief of these priests, is interpreter of all sacred rites, or rather a superintendent of religion, having the care not only of public sacrifices, but even of private rites and offerings, forbidding the people to depart from the stated ceremonies, and teaching them how to honour and propitiate the gods. He had also the inspection of the holy virgins called *Vestals*. For to Numa is ascribed the sacred establishment of the vestal virgins, and the whole service with respect to the perpetual fire, which they watch continually. This office seems appropriated to them, either because fire, which is of a pure and incorruptible nature, should be looked after by persons untouched and undefiled, or else because virginity, like fire, is barren and unfruitful. Agreeably to this last reason, at the places in Greece where the sacred fire is preserved unextinguished, as at Delphi and Athens, not virgins, but widows past child-bearing, have the charge of it. If it happens by any accident

¹ Pliny tells us (l. xxiv. c. 5) it was in the time of their war with the Samnites that the Romans were ordered to set up these statues; that they were accordingly placed in the country, and that they remained there till the dictatorship of Sylla. The oracle, by this direction, probably intimated, that the Romans, if they desired to be victorious, should imitate the wisdom and valour of the Greeks.

² Numa created four, who were all patricians. But in the year of Rome 468 or 464, four plebeians were added to the

number. The king himself is here asserted to have been the chief of them, or *pontifex maximus*; though Livy attributes that honour to another person of the same name, viz., Numa Marcius, the son of Marcus, one of the senators. It seems, however, not improbable that Numa, who was of so religious a turn, reserved the chief dignity in the priesthood to himself, as kings had done in the first ages of the world, and as the emperors of Rome did afterwards.

to be put out, as the sacred lamp is said to have been at Athens, under the tyranny of Aristion ;¹ at Delphi, when the temple was burned by the Medes ; and at Rome, in the Mithridatic war, as also in the civil war,² when not only the fire was extinguished but the altar overturned ; it is not to be lighted again from another fire, but new fire is to be gained by drawing a pure and unpoluted flame from the sunbeams. They kindle it generally with concave vessels of brass, formed by the conic section of a rectangled triangle, whose lines from the circumference meet in one central point. This being placed against the sun, causes its rays to converge in the centre, which, by reflection, acquiring the force and activity of fire, rarefy the air, and immediately kindle such light and dry matter as they think fit to apply.³ Some are of opinion, that the sacred virgins have the care of nothing but the perpetual fire. But others say they have some private rites besides, kept from the sight of all but their own body.

It is reported that at first only two virgins were consecrated by Numa, whose names were Gegania and Verania ; afterwards two others, Canuleia and Tarpeia ; to whom Servius added two more ; and that number has continued to this time. The *vestals* were obliged by the king to preserve their virginity for 30 years. The first 10 years they spent in learning their office ; the next 10 in putting in practice what they had learned ; and the third period in the instructing of others. At the conclusion of this time, such as chose it had liberty to marry, and quitting their sacred employment to take up some other. However, we have account of but very few that accepted this indulgence, and those did not prosper. They generally became a prey to repentance and regret, from whence the rest, inspired with a religious fear, were willing to end their lives under the same institution.

The king honoured them with great privileges, such as *power to make a will during their father's life, and to transact their other affairs without a guardian, like the mothers of three children now*. When they went abroad, they had the *fascēs* carried before them ;⁴ and if, by accident, they met a person led to execution, his life was granted him. But the *vestal* was to make oath,⁵ that it was by chance she met him and not by design. It was death to go under the chair in which they were carried.

¹ This Aristion held out a long time against Sylla, who besieged and took Athens in the time of the Mithridatic war. Aristion himself committed innumerable outrages in the city, and was at last the cause of its being sacked and plundered. As for the sacred fire, it was kept in the temple of Minerva.

² Livy tells us (l. 80) that towards the conclusion of the civil war between Sylla and Marius, Marcus Scaevola, the pontiff, was killed at the entrance of the temple of Vesta ; but we do not find that the sacred fire was extinguished. And even when that temple was burned, towards

the end of the first Punic war, L. Cœlius Metellus then pontiff, rushed through the flames, and brought off the *Palladium* and other sacred things, though with the loss of his sight.

³ Burning glasses were invented by Archimedes, who flourished 600 years after Numa.

⁴ This honour was not conferred upon them by Numa, but by the triumvirate in the year of Rome 712.

⁵ Neither a *vestal* nor a priest of Jupiter was obliged to take an oath. They were believed without that solemnity.

For smaller offences these virgins were punished with stripes; and sometimes the *pontifex maximus* gave them the discipline naked, in some dark place, and under the cover of a veil: but *she that broke her vow of chastity was buried alive by the Colline gate*. There, within the walls, is raised a little mount of earth, called in Latin *Agger*; under which is prepared a small cell, with steps to descend to it. In this are placed a bed, a lighted lamp, and some slight provisions, such as bread, water, milk, and oil, as they thought it impious to take off a person consecrated with the most awful ceremonies, by such a death as that of famine.¹ The criminal is carried to punishment through the *Forum*, in a litter well covered without, and bound up in such a manner that her cries cannot be heard. The people silently make way for the litter, and follow it with marks of extreme sorrow and dejection. There is no spectacle more dreadful than this, nor any day which the city passes in a more melancholy manner. When the litter comes to the place appointed, the officers loose the cords, the high-priest, with hands lifted up towards heaven, offers up some private prayers just before the fatal minute, then takes out the prisoner, who is covered with a veil, and places her upon the steps which lead down to the cell: after this he retires with the rest of the priests, and when she is gone down, the steps are taken away, and the cell is covered with earth; so that the place is made level with the rest of the mount.

It is also said, that Numa built the temple of *Vesta*, where the perpetual fire was to be kept,² in an orbicular form, not intending to represent the figure of the earth, as if that was meant by *Vesta*, but the frame of the universe, in the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire,³ and give it the name of *Vesta* and *Unity*. The earth they supposed not to be without motion, nor situated in the centre of the world, but to make its revolution round the sphere of fire, being neither one of the most valuable nor principal parts of the great machine. Plato, too, in his old age, is reported to have been of the same opinion, assigning the earth a different situation from the centre, and leaving that, as the place of honour, to a nobler element.

The *Pontifices* were, moreover, to prescribe the form of funeral rites to such as consulted them. Numa himself taught them to look upon the last offices to the dead as no pollution. He instructed them to pay all due honour to the infernal gods, as receiving the most excellent part of us, and more particularly to venerate the goddess *Libitina*, as he called her, who presides over funeral

¹ There seems to be something improbable and inconsistent in this. Of what use could provisions be to the vestal, who, when the grave was closed upon her, must expire through want of air? Or, if she could make use of those provisions, was she not at last to die of famine? Perhaps what Plutarch here calls provisions were materials for some sacrifice.

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus (l. ii.) is of

opinion, and probably he is right, that Numa did build the temple of *Vesta* in a round form, to represent the figure of the earth; for by *Vesta* they meant the earth.

³ That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans is well known; but Diogenes Laertius tells us, that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre.

solemnities : whether he meant by her *Proserpine*, or rather *Venus*,¹ as some of the most learned Romans suppose ; not improperly ascribing to the same divine power the care of our birth and of our death.

He himself likewise fixed the time of mourning, according to the different ages of the deceased. He allowed none for a child that died under three years of age ; and for one older the mourning was only to last as many months as he lived years, provided those were not more than ten. *The longest mourning was not to continue above ten months, after which space widows were permitted to marry again :* but she that took another husband before that term was out, was obliged by his decree to sacrifice a cow with calf.²

Numa instituted several other sacred orders ; two of which I shall mention, the *Salii*³ and *Feciales*,⁴ which afford particular proofs of his piety. The *Feciales*, who were like the *Irenophylakes*, or *guardians of the peace*, among the Greeks, had, I believe, a name expressive of their office ; for they were to *act* and mediate between the two parties, to decide their differences by reason, and not suffer them to go to war till all hopes of justice were lost. The Greeks call such a peace *Irene*, that puts an end to strife, not by mutual violence, but in a rational way. In like manner the *feciales*, or *heralds*, were often despatched to such nations as had injured the Romans, to persuade them to entertain more equitable sentiments : if they rejected their application, they called the gods to witness, with imprecations against themselves and their country, if their cause was not just ; and so they declared war. But if the *feciales* refused their sanction, it was not lawful for any Roman soldier, nor even for the king himself, to begin hostilities. War was to com-

¹ This *Venus Libitina* was the same with *Proserpine*. She was called at Delphi *Venus Syriaca*. Pluto was the Jupiter of the shades below ; and there they had their Mercury too.

² Such an unnatural sacrifice was intended to deter the widows from marrying again before the expiration of their mourning. Romulus's year consisting but of ten months, when Numa afterwards added two months more, he did not alter the time he had before settled for mourning ; and therefore, though after that time we often meet with *Luctus annuus*, or a year's mourning, we must take it only for the old year of Romulus. The ordinary colour to express their grief, used alike by both sexes, was black, without trimmings. But after the establishment of the empire, when abundance of colours came in fashion, the old primitive white grew so much into contempt, that it became peculiar to the women for their mourning. *Vide Plur. Quest. Rom.* There were several accidents which often occasioned the commencing of a public mourning, or suspension of a private one, before the fixed time ; such as the dedica-

tion of a temple, the solemnity of public games or festivals, the solemn lustration performed by the censor, and the discharging of a vow made by a magistrate or a general. They likewise put off their mourning habit when a father, brother, or son, returned from captivity, or when some of the family were advanced to a considerable employment.

³ The *Salii* were the guardians of the *Ancilia*, or twelve shields hung up in the temple of Mars. They took their name from their dancing in the celebration of an annual festival instituted in memory of a miraculous shield, which, Numa pretended, fell down from heaven.

⁴ Dionysius of Halicarnassus finds them among the Aborigines ; and Numa is said to have borrowed the institution from the people of Latium. He appointed 30 *feciales* chosen out of the most eminent families in Rome, and settled there in a college. The *pater patratus*, who made peace or denounced war, was probably one of their body selected for that purpose, because he had both a father and a son alive. Liv. l. i. c. 24.

mence with their approbation, as the proper judges whether it was just, and then the supreme magistrate was to deliberate concerning the proper means of carrying it on. The great misfortunes which befell the city from the Gauls, are said to have proceeded from the violation of these sacred rites. For when those barbarians were besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent ambassador to their camp, with proposals of peace in favour of the besieged. But receiving a harsh answer, he thought himself released from his character of ambassador, and rashly taking up arms for the Clusians, challenged the bravest man in the Gaulish army. He proved victorious, indeed, in the combat, for he killed his adversary, and carried off his spoils, but the Gauls having discovered who he was, sent a herald to Rome to accuse Fabius of bearing arms against them, contrary to treaties and good faith, and without a declaration of war. Upon this the *seculares* exhorted the senate to deliver him up to the Gauls, but he applied to the people, and being a favourite with them, was screened from the sentence. Soon after this the Gauls marched to Rome, and sacked the whole city except the Capitol.

The order of priests called *Salii*, is said to have been instituted on this occasion. In the eighth year of Numa's reign a pestilence prevailed in Italy. Rome also felt its ravages. While the people were greatly dejected, we are told that a brazen buckler fell from heaven into the hands of Numa. Of this he gave a very wonderful account, received from *Lycia* and the muses. That the buckler was sent down for the preservation of the city, and should be kept with great care. That eleven others should be made as like it as possible in size and fashion, in order, that if any person were disposed to steal it he might not be able to distinguish that which fell from heaven from the rest. He farther declared, that the place, and the meadows about it, where he frequently conversed with the muses, should be consecrated to those divinities, and that the spring which watered the ground should be sacred to the use of the vestal virgins, daily to sprinkle and purify their temple. The immediate cessation of the pestilence is said to have confirmed the truth of this account. Numa then showed the buckler to the artists, and commanded them to exert all their skill for an exact resemblance. They all declined the attempt, except *Veturius Mamurius*, who was so successful in the imitation, and made the other eleven so like it, that not even Numa himself could distinguish them. He gave these bucklers in charge to the *Salii*, who did not receive their name, as some pretend, from *Salus* of Samothrace or Mantinea, that taught the way of dancing in arms, but rather from the subsultive dance itself, which they lead up along the streets, when in the month of March they carry the sacred bucklers through the city. On that occasion they are habited in purple vests, girt with broad belts of brass; they wear also brazen helmets, and carry short swords, with which they strike upon the bucklers, and to those sounds they keep time with their feet. They move in an agreeable manner, performing certain

revolutions and evolutions in a quick measure, with vigour, agility, and ease.

These bucklers are called *Ancilia*, from the form of them. For they are neither circular, nor yet, like the *pelta*, semicircular, but fashioned in two crooked indented lines, the extremities of which meeting close, form a curve, in Greek *anylon*. Or else they may be so named from the *ancon* or *bend of the arm*, on which they are carried. This account of the matter we have from Juba, who is very desirous to derive the term from the Greek. But if we must have an etymology from that language, it may be taken from their descending, *ankathen*, from on high; or from *akesis*, their healing of the sick; or from *au-hmon lysis*, their putting an end to the drought; or lastly, from *anaschesis*, deliverance from calamities: for which reason also Castor and Pollux were by the Athenians called *anakes*. The reward Mamurius had for his art, was, we are told, an ode, which the Salians sung in memory of him, along with the Pyrrhic dance. Some, however, say, it was not *Ueturius Mamurius*, who was celebrated in that composition, but *vetus memoria*, the *ancient remembrance* of the thing.

After Numa had instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, called Regia, near the temple of Vesta; and there he passed most of his time, either in performing some sacred function, or instructing the priests, or, at least, in conversing with them on some divine subject. He had also another house upon the *Quirinal* mount, the situation of which they still show us. In all public ceremonies and processions of the priests a herald went before, who gave notice to the people to keep holiday. For, as they tell us, the Pythagoreans would not suffer their disciples to pay any homage or worship to the gods in a cursory manner, but required them to come prepared for it by meditation at home; so Numa was of opinion, that his citizens should neither see nor hear any religious service in a slight or careless way, but, disengaged from other affairs, bring with them that attention which an object of such importance required. The streets and ways on such occasions, were cleared of clamour, and all manner of noise which attends manual labour, that the solemnities might not be disturbed. Some vestiges of this still remain: for when the consul is employed either in augury or sacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age, Mente this*; and thus admonish them to be orderly and attentive.

Many other of his institutions resemble those of the Pythagoreans. For as these had precepts, which enjoined not to sit upon a bushel;¹ nor to stir the fire with a sword;² not to turn back upon a journey;³ to offer an odd number to the celestial gods, and an even one to the terrestrial;⁴ the sense of which precepts is hid

¹ That is, not to give up ourselves to idleness.

² Not to irritate him who is already angry.

³ In another place Plutarch gives this precept thus, *Necesse* returns from the borders. But the sense is the same; Dis-

like a man; do not long after life, when it is departing, or wish to be young again.

⁴ The pagans looked on an odd number as the more perfect and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of

from the vulgar so some of Numa's have a concealed meaning ; as, not to offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine unpruned , nor to sacrifice without meal ,² to turn round when you worship ,³ and to sit down when you have worshipped. The two first precepts seem to recommend agriculture as a part of religion. And the turning round in adoration is said to represent the circular motion of the world. But I rather think, that as the temples opened towards the east, such as entered them necessarily turning their backs upon the rising sun, made a half turn to that quarter, in honour of the god of day, and then completed the circle, as well as their devotions, with their faces towards the god of the temple. Unless, perhaps, this change of posture may have an enigmatical meaning, like the Egyptian wheels, admonishing us of the instability of every thing human, and preparing us to acquiesce and rest satisfied with whatever turns and changes the divine Being allots us. As for sitting down after an act of religion, they tell us it was intended as an omen of success in prayer, and of lasting happiness afterwards. They add, that as actions are divided by intervals of rest, so when one business was over, they sat down in presence of the gods, that under their auspicious conduct they might begin another. Nor is this repugnant to what has been already advanced , since the lawgiver wanted to accustom us to address the deity, not in the midst of business or hurry, but when we have time and leisure to do it as we ought.

By this sort of religious discipline the people became so tractable, and were impressed with such a veneration of Numa's power, that they admitted many improbable, and even fabulous tales, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he undertook. Thus he is said to have invited many of the citizens to his table,⁴ where he took care the vessels should be mean, and the provisions plain and inelegant , but after they were seated, he told them, the goddess with whom he used to converse, was coming to visit him, when, on a sudden the room was supplied with the most costly vessels, and the table with a most magnificent entertainment. But nothing can be imagined more absurd than what is related of his conversation with Jupiter. The story goes, that when Mount *Aventine* was not enclosed within the walls, nor yet inhabited, but abounded with flowing springs and shady groves, it was frequented by two demigods, Picus and Faunus. These, in other respects,

divination. This prejudice was not only the reason why the first month was consecrated to the celestial and the second to the terrestrial deities but gave birth to a thousand superstitious practices, which in some countries are still kept up by those whom reason and religion ought to have undeceived.

1 The principal intention of this precept might be to wean them from sacrifices of blood, and to bring them to offer only cakes and figures of animals made of paste.

2 Probably to represent the immensity of the Godhead.

3 Ichnonius tells us that Numa showed these Romans all the rooms of his palace in the morning meanly furnished and without any signs of a great entertainment, that he kept them with him great part of the day and when they returned to sup with him by invitation in the evening they found every thing sumptuously magnificent. It is likely Numa intended the change to his invisible friend.

were like the *Satyrs*, or the race of *Titans*: but in the wonderful feats they performed by their skill in pharmacy and magic more resembled the *Idæi Dactylæ* (as the Greeks call them); and thus provided they roamed about Italy. They tell us, that Numa, having mixed the fountain of which they used to drink with wine and honey, surprised and caught them. Upon this, they turned themselves into many forms, and, quitting their natural figure, assumed strange and horrible appearances. But when they found they could not break or escape from the bond that held them, they acquainted him with many secrets of futurity and taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions, hair, and pilchards, which is used to this day. Others say, these demigods did not communicate the charm, but that by the force of magic they brought down Jupiter from heaven. The god, resenting this at Numa's hands, ordered the charm to consist of heads. Of onions, replied Numa. No, human.—Hairs, said Numa, desirous to fence against the dreadful injunction, and interrupting the god. Living, said Jupiter: Pilchards, said Numa. He was instructed, it seems, by Egeria, how to manage the matter. Jupiter went away propitious, in Greek *ileos*, whence the place was called *Illiceum*,³ and so the charm was effected. These things, fabulous and ridiculous as they are, show how superstition, confirmed by custom, operated upon the minds of the people. As for Numa himself, he placed his confidence so entirely in God, that when one brought him word the enemy was coming, he only smiled, saying, *And I am sacrificing*.

He is recorded to have been the first that built temples to *Fides*,⁴ or *Faith*, and to *Terminus*,⁵ and he taught the Romans to swear by *faith*, as the greatest of oaths; which they still continue to make use of. In our times they sacrifice animals in the fields, both on public and private occasions, to *Terminus*, as the god of boundaries; but formerly the offering was an inanimate one; for Numa argued that there should be no effusion of blood in the rites of a god, who

¹ Diodorus tells us from Ephorus, the *Idæi Dactylæ* were originally from Mount *Idæi* in Phrygia, from whence they passed into Europe with king *Minos*. They settled first in *Samothrace*, where they taught the inhabitants religious rites. *Orpheus* is thought to have been their disciple; and the first that carried a form of worship over into Greece. The *Dactylæ* are likewise said to have found out the use of fire, and to have discovered the nature of iron and brass to the inhabitants of the country adjoining to Mount *Berecynthus*, and to have taught them the way of working them. For this, and many other useful discoveries, they were after their death worshipped as gods.

³ This is Plutarch's mistake. Ovid informs us (*Fæst.* l. iii.) that Jupiter was called *Efficius* from *efficere*, to draw out, because Jupiter was drawn out of heaven on this occasion.

⁴ This was intended to make the Romans pay as much regard to their word as to a

contract in writing. And so excellent in fact, were their principles that Polybius gives the Romans of his time this honourable testimony:—"They most inviolably keep their word without being obliged to it by bail, a tress, or promise; whereas, ten securities, twenty promises, and as many witnesses, cannot hinder the faithless Greeks from attempting to deceive and disappoint you." No wonder, then, that so virtuous a people were victorious over those that were become thus degenerate and dishonest.

⁵ The *Dei Termini* were represented by stones, which Numa caused to be placed on the borders of the Roman state, and of each man's private lands. In honour of these deities, he instituted a festival called *Terminælia*, which was annually celebrated on 22d or 23d Feb. To remove the *Dei Termini* was deemed a sacrilege of so heinous a nature that any man might kill, with impunity, the transgressor.

is the witness of justice, and guardian of peace. It is indeed certain that Numa was the first that marked out the bounds of the Roman territory; Romulus being unwilling, by measuring out his own, to show how much he had encroached upon the neighbouring countries: for bounds, if preserved, are barriers against lawless power; if violated, they are evidences of injustice. The territory of the city was by no means extensive at first, but Romulus added to it a considerable district gained by the sword. All this Numa divided among the indigent citizens, that poverty might not drive them to rapine; and, as he turned the application of the people to agriculture, their temper was subdued together with the ground. For no occupation implants so speedy and so effectual a love of peace as a country life, where there remains indeed courage and bravery sufficient to defend their property, but the temptations to injustice and avarice are removed. Numa, therefore, introduced among his subjects an attachment to husbandry as a charm of peace, and contriving a business for them, which would rather form their manners to simplicity, than raise them to opulence, *he divided the country into several portions, which he called pagi, or boroughs*, and over each of them a governor or overseer. Sometimes also he inspected them himself, and judging of the disposition of the people by the condition of their farms, some he advanced to posts of honour and trust; and, on the other hand, he reprimanded and endeavoured to reform the negligent and the idle.¹

But the most admired of all his institutions is his distribution of the citizens into companies, according to their arts and trades. For the city, consisting of two nations, or rather factions, who were by no means willing to unite, or to blot out the remembrance of their original difference, but maintained perpetual contests and party quarrels, he took the same method with them as is used to incorporate hard and solid bodies, which, while entire, will not mix at all, but when reduced to powder, unite with ease. To attain this purpose, he divided the whole multitude into small bodies, who gaining new distinctions, lost by degrees the great and original one, in consequence of their being thus broken into so many parts. This distribution was made according to the several arts or trades of musicians, goldsmiths, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, braziers, and potters. He collected the other artificers also into companies, who had their respective halls, courts, and religious ceremonies, peculiar to each society. By these means he first took away the distinction of Sabines and Romans, subjects of Tatius, and subjects of Romulus, both name and thing; the very separation into parts mixing and incorporating the whole together.

He is celebrated also, in his political capacity, for correcting the law which empowered fathers to sell their children,² excepting such

¹ To neglect the cultivation of a farm was considered amongst the Romans as a *consortium probrum*; a fault that merited the chastisement of the censor.

² Romulus had allowed fathers greater

power over their children than masters had over their slaves. For a master could sell his slave but once; whereas a father could sell his son three times, let him be of what age or condition soever.

as married by their father's command or consent; for he reckoned it a great hardship that a woman should marry a man as free, and then live with a slave.

He attempted the reformation of the calendar, too, which he executed with some degree of skill, though not with absolute exactness. In the reign of Romulus, it had neither measure nor order, some months consisting of fewer than 20 days,¹ while some were stretched to 35, and others even to more. They had no idea of the difference between the annual course of the sun and that of the moon and only laid down this position, that the year consisted of 360 days. Numa, then, observing that there was a difference of 11 days, 354 days making up the lunar year, and 365 the solar, doubled those 11 days, and inserted them as an intercalary month after that of February, every other year. This additional month was called by the Romans *Mercedinus*. But this amendment of the irregularity afterwards required a farther amendment. He likewise altered the order of the months, making March the 3d, which was the 1st; January 1st, which was the 11th of Romulus; and February the 2d, which was the 12th and last. Many, however, assert that the two months of January and February were added by Numa, whereas before they had reckoned but ten months in the year, as some barbarous nations had but three; and, among the Greeks, the Arcadians four, and the Acarnanians six. The Egyptian year, they tell us, at first, consisted only of one month, afterwards of four. And, therefore, though they inhabit a new country, they seem to be a very ancient people, and reckon in their chronology an incredible number of years, because they account months for years.²

¹ Macrobius tells us (*Saturnal.* l. i. c. 12), that Romulus settled the number of days with more equality, allotting to March, May, Quintilis, and October 31 days each; to April, June, -octilis, November, and December, 30 making up in all 304 days. Numa was better acquainted with the celestial motions; and, therefore, in the first place, added the two months of January and February. By the way, it is probable, the reader will think, that neither Romulus, nor any other man, could be so ignorant as to make the lunar year consist of 301 days; and that the Romans reckoned by lunar months, and consequently by the lunar year, originally, in plain, from their calendars, names, and ideas. To compose these two months, he added 50 days to the 304, in order to make them answer to the course of the moon. Beside this, he observed the difference between the solar and the lunar course to be 11 days; and, to remedy the inequality, he doubled those days after every two years, adding an interstitial month after February; which Plutarch here calls *Mercedinus*; and in the life of Julius Caesar *Mense Febria*. Festus speaks of certain days,

which he calls *Mense Mercedonii*, because they were appointed for the payment of workmen and domestics, which is all we know of the word. As Numa was sensible that the solar year consisted of 365 days and six hours, and that the six hours made a whole day in four years, he commanded that the month *Mercedinus* after every four years should consist of 23 days; but the care of these intercalations being left to the priests, they put in or left out the intercalary day or month as they fancied it lucky or unlucky; and by that means created such a confusion that the festivals came, in process of time, to be kept at a season quite contrary to what they had been formerly. The Roman calendar had gained ne : three months in the days of Julius Caesar, and, therefore, wanted a great reformation again.

² To suppose the Egyptians reckoned months for years, does indeed bring their computation pretty near the truth, with respect to the then age of the world; for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 80,000 years. But that supposition would make the reigns of their kings unreasonably short. Besides, Herodotus says, the Egyptians were the first

That the Roman year contained at first ten months only, and not twelve, we have a proof in the name of the last; for they still call it December, or the tenth month; and that March was the first is also evident, because the fifth from it was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest in their order. If January and February had then been placed before March, the month *Quintilis* would have been the fifth in name, but the seventh in reckoning. Besides, it is reasonable to conclude, that the month of March, dedicated by Romulus to the god *Mars*, should stand first, and April second, which has its name from *Aphrodite* or *Venus*, for in this month the women sacrifice to that goddess, and bathe on the first of it, with crowns of myrtle on their heads. Some, however, say, April derives not its name from *Aphrodite*; but, as the very sound of the term seems to dictate, from *aperire*, to *open*, because the spring having then attained its vigour, it *opens* and unfolds the blossoms of plants. The next month, which is that of May, is so called from *Maia*, the mother of Mercury; for to him it is sacred. June is so styled from the *youthful* season of the year. Some again inform us that these two months borrow their names from the two ages, *old* and *young*; for the older men are called *maiores*, and the younger *juniores*. The succeeding months were denominated according to their order, of fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called July, in honour of Julius Cæsar, who overcame Pompey; and *Sextilis* August, from Augustus the second emperor of Rome. To the two following months Domitian gave his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, which lasted but a little while, for when he was slain they resumed their old names, September and October. The two last were the only ones that all along retained the original appellation which they had from their order. February, which was either added or transposed by Numa, is the month of purification, for so the term signifies; and then rites are celebrated for the purifying of trees, and procuring a blessing on their fruits; then also the feast of the *Lupercalia* is held, whose ceremonies greatly resemble those of a lustration. January, the first month, is so named from *Janus*. And Numa seems to me to have taken away the precedence from March, which is denominated from the god of war, with a design to show his preference of the political virtues to the martial. For this *Janus*, in the most remote antiquity, whether a demigod or a king, being remarkable for his political abilities and his cultivation of society, reclaimed men from their rude and savage manners; he is, therefore, represented with two faces, as having altered the former state of the world, and given quite a new turn to life. He has also a temple at Rome with two gates, which they call the gates of war. It is the custom for this temple to stand open in the time

that began to compute by years, and that they made the year consist of twelve months. Their boasted antiquity must, therefore, be imputed to their stretching the fabulous part of their history too far

back. As to Ptolemy's saying that Egypt was a new country, it is strange that such a notion could ever be entertained by a man of his knowledge.

of war, and to be shut in time of peace. The latter was seldom the case, as the empire has been generally engaged in war on account of its great extent, and its having to contend with so many surrounding barbarous nations. It has, therefore, been shut only in the reign of Augustus Cæsar,¹ when he had conquered Antony; and before, in the consulate of Marcus Attilius² and Titus Manlius, a little while; for, a new war breaking out, it was soon opened again. In Numa's reign, however, it was not opened for one day, but stood constantly shut during the space of 43 years, while uninterrupted peace reigned in every quarter. Not only the people of Rome were softened and humanised by the justice and mildness of the king, but even the circumjacent cities, breathing, as it were, the same salutary and delightful air, began to change their behaviour. Like the Romans, they became desirous of peace and good laws, of cultivating the ground, educating their children in tranquillity, and paying their homage to the gods. Italy was then taken up with festivals and sacrifices, games and entertainments; the people, without any apprehensions of danger, mixed in a friendly manner, and treated each other with mutual hospitality; the love of virtue and justice, as from the source of Numa's wisdom, gently flowing upon all, and moving with the composure of his heart. Even the hyperbolical expressions of the poets fall short of describing the happiness of those days:—

Secure *Arachne* spread her slander toils
O'er the broad buckler; eating rust consumed
The vengeful swords and once far-gleaming spears;
No more the trump of war swells its hoarse throat,
Nor robe the eyelids of their genial slumber.³

We have no account of either war or insurrection in the state during Numa's reign. Nay, he experienced neither enmity nor envy; nor did ambition dictate either open or private attempts against his crown. Whether it were the fear of the gods, who took so pious a man under their protection, or reverence of his virtue, or the singular good fortune of his times, that kept the manners of men pure and unsullied,—he was an illustrious instance of that truth which Plato several ages after ventured to deliver concerning government:—*That the only sure prospect of deliverance from the evils of life will be, when the divine Providence shall so order it, that the regal power, invested in a prince who has the sentiments of a philosopher, shall render virtue triumphant over vice.* A man of such wisdom is not only happy in himself, but contributes, by his instructions, to the happiness of others. There is, in truth, no need either of force or menaces to direct the

¹ Augustus shut the temple of Janus three several times; one of which was in the year of Rome 750, before the birth of our Saviour, according to Isaiah's prophecy, that all the world should be blessed with peace, when the Prince of Peace was born. This temple was also shut by Vespasian after his triumph over the Jews.

² Instead of Marcus we should read Caius Attilius. Titus Manlius, his colleague, shut the temple of Janus at the conclusion of the first Punic war.

³ Plutarch took this passage from some excellent verses of Licetibulus in praise of peace, given us by Stobæus.

multitude; for when they see virtue exemplified in so glorious a pattern as the life of their prince, they become wise of themselves, and endeavour by friendship and unanimity, by a strict regard to justice and temperance, to form themselves to a happy life. This is the noblest end of government; and he is most worthy of the royal seat who can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. No one was more sensible of this than Numa.

As to his wives and children, there are great contradictions among historians. For some say, he had no wife but Tatia, nor any child but one daughter, named Pompilia. Others, beside that daughter, give an account of four sons, Pompon, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus; every one of which left an honourable posterity, the Pomponii being descended from Pompon, the Pinarii from Pinus, the Calpurnii from Calpus, and the Mamercii from Mamercus. These were surnamed *Regis* or *kings*.¹ But a third set of writers accuse the former of forging these genealogies from Numa, in order to ingratiate themselves with particular families. And they tell us that Pompilia was not the daughter of Tatia, but of Lucretia, another wife, whom he married after he ascended the throne. All, however, agree that Pompilia was married to Marcius, son of that Marcius who persuaded Numa to accept the crown; for he followed him to Rome, where he was enrolled a senator, and, after Numa's death, was competitor with Tullus Hostilius for the throne; but, failing in the enterprise, he starved himself to death. His son Marcius, husband to Pompilia, remained in Rome, and had a son named Ancus Marcius, who reigned after Tullus Hostilius. This son is said to have been but five years old at the death of Numa.

Numa was carried off by no sudden or acute distemper; but, as Piso relates, wasted away insensibly with old age and a gentle decline. He was some few years above eighty when he died.

The neighbouring nations that were in friendship and alliance with Rome strove to make the honours of his burial equal to the happiness of his life, attending with crowns and other public offerings. The senators carried the bier, and the ministers of the gods walked in procession. The rest of the people, with the women and children, crowded to the funeral; not as if they were attending the interment of an aged king, but as if they had lost one of their beloved relations in the bloom of life; for they followed it with tears and loud lamentations. They did not burn the body,² because (as

¹ *Regis* was the surname of the *Hostiliani* or *Marciani*, but not of the *Pomponiani*, the *Pineliani*, or *Mamerciani*. The *Pinarii* were descended from a family who were priests of *Hercules*, and more ancient than the times of Numa.

² In the most ancient times they committed the bodies of the dead to the ground, as appears from the history of the patriarchs. But the Egyptians, from

a vain desire of preserving their bodies from corruption after death, had them embalmed; persons of condition with rich spices, and even the poor had theirs preserved with salt. The Greeks, to obviate the inconveniences that might possibly happen from corruption, burned the bodies of the dead; but *Pliny* tells us that *Numa* was the first Roman whose body was burned. When Paganism was

we are told) he himself forbade it; but they made two stone coffins, and buried them under the Janiculum; the one containing his body, and the other the sacred books which he had written, in the same manner as the Grecian legislators wrote their tables of laws.

Numa had taken care, however, in his lifetime, to instruct the priests in all that those books contained, and to impress both the sense and practice on their memories. He then ordered them to be buried with him, persuaded that such mysteries could not safely exist in lifeless writing. Influenced by the same reasoning, it is said, the Pythagoreans did not commit their precepts to writing, but entrusted them to the memories of such as they thought worthy of so great a deposit. And when they happened to communicate to an unworthy person their abstruse problems in geometry, they gave out that the gods threatened to avenge his profaneness and impiety with some great and signal calamity. Those, therefore, may be well excused who endeavour to prove by so many resemblances that Numa was acquainted with Pythagoras. Valerius Antias relates, that there were twelve books written in Latin concerning religion, and twelve more of philosophy, in Greek, buried in that coffin. But 400 years after,¹ when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, a prodigious fall of rain having washed away the earth that covered the coffins, and the lids falling off, one of them appeared entirely empty, without the least remains of the body; in the other the books were found. Petilius, then Prætor, having examined them, made his report upon oath to the senate, that it appeared to him inconsistent both with justice and religion, to make them public; in consequence of which all the volumes were carried into the Comitium, and burned.

Glory follows in the train of great men, and increases after their death; for envy does not long survive them; nay, it sometimes dies before them. The misfortunes, indeed, of the succeeding kings added lustre to the character of Numa. Of the five that came after him, the last was driven from the throne, and lived long in exile; and of the other four, not one died a natural death. Three were traitorously slain. As for Tullus Hostilius, who reigned next after Numa, he ridiculed and despised many of his best institutions, particularly his religious ones, as effeminate, and tending to in-

abolished, the burning of dead bodies ceased with it; and in the belief of the resurrection, Christians committed their dead with due care and honour to the earth, to repose there till that great event.

¹ Plutarch probably wrote 400; for this happened in the year of Rome 673. "One Terentius," says Varo [ap. S. August. de *Ve. Dei.*], "had a piece of ground near the Janiculum; and an husbandman of his one day accidentally running over Numa's tomb, turned up some of the legislator's books wherein he gave his reasons for establishing the religion of the Romans as he left it. The husbandman carried these books to the prætor, and the

prætor to the senate, who, after having read his frivolous reasons for his religious establishments, agreed that the books should be destroyed, in pursuance of Numa's intentions. It was accordingly decreed, that the prætor should throw them into the fire." But though Numa's motives for the religion he established might be trivial enough, that was not the chief reason for suppressing them. The real, at least the principal, reason was the many new superstitions, equally trivial, which the Romans had introduced, and the worship which they paid to images, contrary to Numa's appointment.

action ; for his view was to dispose the people to war. He did not, however, abide by his irreligious opinions, but falling into a severe and complicated sickness, he changed them for a superstition,¹ very different from Numa's piety ; others, too, were infected with the same false principles, when they saw the manner of his death which is said to have happened by lightning.²

PUBLICOLA.

PUBLICOLA was so called by the Roman people, in acknowledgment of his merit ; for his paternal name was Valerius. He was descended from that ancient Valerius,³ who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and the Sabines. For he it was that most effectually persuaded the two kings to come to a conference, and to settle their differences. From this man our Valerius deriving his extraction, distinguished himself by his eloquence and riches,⁴ even while Rome was yet under kingly government. His eloquence he employed with great propriety and spirit in defence of justice, and his riches in relieving the necessitous. Hence it was natural to conclude, that if the government should become republican,⁵ his station in it would soon be one of the most eminent.

When Tarquin *the proud*, who had made his way to the throne by the violation of all rights⁶ divine and human, and then exercised his power as he acquired it, when, like an oppressor and a tyrant, he became odious and insupportable to the people, they took occasion to revolt, from the unhappy fate of Lucretia, who killed herself on account of the rape committed upon her by the son of Tarquin.⁷ Lucius Brutus, meditating a change of government, applied to Valerius first, and with his powerful assistance expelled

¹ None are so superstitious in distress as those who in their prosperity have laughed at religion. The famous Canon Vossius was no less remarkable for the greatness of his fears than he was for the littleness of his faith.

² The palace of Tullus Hostilius was burned down by lightning ; and he, with his wife and children, perished in the flames. Though some historians say that Ancus Marcius, who, as the grandson of Numa, expected to succeed to the crown, took the opportunity of the storm to assassinate the king.

³ The first of his family, who settled at Rome, was Valerius Volturnus, a Sabine ; or, as Festus and the *fests Capitoli* call him, Valerius.

⁴ Plutarch, by this, would insinuate that arbitrary power is no friend to eloquence. And undoubtedly the want of liberty does depress the spirit, and re-

strain the force of genius ; whereas, in republics and limited monarchies, full scope is given, as well as many occasions afforded, to the richest vein of oratory.

⁵ Governments, as well as other things, pushed to excessive lengths, often change to the contrary extreme.

⁶ He made use of the body of his father-in-law, Servius Tullius, whom he had murdered, as a step to the throne.

⁷ Livy tells us, that she desired her father and husband to meet her at her own house. With her father Lucretius came Publius Valerius, afterwards Publicola, and with her husband Lucius Junius Brutus, and many other Romans of distinction. To them she disclosed in few words the whole matter, declared her firm resolution not to outlive the loss of her honour, and conjured them not to let the crime of Sextus Tarquinius go unpunished. Then the heroine, notwithstanding

the king and his family. Indeed, while the people seemed inclined to give one person the chief command, and to set up a general instead of a king, Valerius acquiesced, and willingly yielded *the first place to Brutus, under whose auspices the republic commenced.* But when it appeared that they could not bear the thought of being governed by a single person, when they seemed more ready to obey a divided authority, and indeed proposed and demanded to have two consuls at the head of the state, then he offered himself as a candidate for that high office, together with Brutus, but lost his election. For, contrary to Brutus's desire, Tarquinius Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was appointed his colleague. Not that he was a more worthy or able man than Valerius; but those that had the chief interest in the state, apprehensive of the return of the Tarquins, who made great efforts without, and endeavoured to soften the resentment of the citizens within, were desirous to be commanded by the most implacable enemy of that house.

Valerius, taking it ill that it should be supposed he would not do his utmost for his country, because he had received no particular injury from the tyrants, withdrew from the senate, forebore to attend the *forum*, and would not intermeddle in the least with public affairs. So that many began to express their fear and concern, lest through resentment he should join the late royal family, and overturn the commonwealth, which, as yet, was but tottering. Brutus was not without his suspicions of some others, and therefore determined to bring the senators to their oath on a solemn day of sacrifice, which he appointed for that purpose. On this occasion, Valerius went with great alacrity into the *forum*, and was the first to make oath that he would never give up the least point, or hearken to any terms of agreement with Tarquin, but would defend the Roman liberty with his sword; which afforded great satisfaction to the senate and strengthened the hands of the consuls.¹ His actions soon confirmed the sincerity of his oath. For ambassadors came from Tarquin with letters calculated to gain the people, and instructions to treat with them in such a manner as might be most likely to corrupt them; as they were to tell them from the king that he had bid adieu to his high notions, and was willing to listen to very

their endeavours to disengage her from it, plunged a dagger in her breast. While the rest were filled with grief and consternation, Brutus, who, till that time, had feigned himself an idiot, to prevent his being obnoxious to the tyrant, took the bloody poniard, and showing it to the assembly, said, "I swear by this blood, which was once so pure, and which nothing but the detestable villany of Tarquin could have polluted, that I will pursue L. Tarquinius the proud, his wicked wife, and their children, with fire and sword; nor will ever suffer any of that family, or any other whatsoever, to reign at Rome. Ye Gods! I call you to witness this my oath." At these words, he presented the

dagger to Collatinus, Lucretius, Valerius, and the rest of the company; and engaged them to take the same oath.

¹ Thus ended the regal state of Rome, 242 years, according to the common computation, after the building of the city. But Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, that this can scarce be reconciled to the course of nature, for we meet with no instances in all history, since chronology was certain, wherein seven kings, most of whom were slain, reigned so long a time in continual succession. By contracting, therefore, the reigns of those kings, and those of the kings of Alba, he places the building of Rome, not in the seventh, but in the thirty-eighth Olympiad.

moderate conditions. Though the consuls were of opinion that they should be admitted to confer with the people, Valerius would not suffer it, but opposed it strongly, insisting that no pretext for innovation should be given the needy multitude, who might consider war as a greater grievance than tyranny itself.

After this, ambassadors came to declare that he would give up all thoughts of the kingdom, and lay down his arms, if they would but send him his treasures and other effects, that his family and friends might not want a subsistence in their exile. Many persons inclined to indulge him in this, and Collatinus in particular agreed to it, but Brutus,¹ a man of great spirit and quick resentment, ran into the *forum*, and called his colleague traitor, for being disposed to grant the enemy the means to carry on the war, and recover the crown, when indeed it would be too much to grant them bread in the place where they might retire to. The citizens being assembled on that occasion, Caius Minutius, a private man, was the first who delivered his sentiments to them, advising Brutus, and exhorting the Romans, to take care that the treasures should fight for them against the tyrants, rather than for the tyrants against *them*. The Romans, however, were of opinion that, while they obtained that liberty for which they began the war, they should not reject the offered peace for the sake of the treasures, but cast them out together with the tyrants.

In the meantime, Tarquinius made but small account of his effects, but the demand of them furnished a pretence for sounding the people and for preparing a scene of treachery. This was carried on by the ambassadors, under pretence of taking care of the effects, part of which they said they were to sell, part to collect, and the rest to send away. Thus they gained time to corrupt two of the best families in Rome, that of the Aquilii, in which were three senators, and the Vitellii, among whom were two. All these, by the mother's side, were nephews to Collatinus the consul. The Vitellii were likewise allied to Brutus, for their sister was his wife, and he had several children by her, ² two of whom, just arrived at years of maturity, and being of their kindred and acquaintance, the Vitellii drew in, and were persuaded to engage in the conspiracy; insinuating that by this means they might hurry into the family of the Tarquins, share in their royal prospects, and, at the same time, be set free from the yoke of a stupid and cruel father. For, his inflexibility in punishing criminals, they called cruelty, and the stupidity, which he had used a long time as a cloak to shelter him

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the contrary, says the affair was debated in the senate with great moderation, and when it could not be settled there whether they should prefer honour or profit it was referred to the people who, to their immortal praise, carried it, by a majority of one vote, for honour.

² Dionysius and Livy make mention of

no more than two, but Plutarch agrees with those who say that Brutus had more, and that Marcus Brutus who killed Cæsar was descended from one of them. Cicero is among those that hold the latter opinion, or else he pretended to be so, to make the cause and person of Brutus more popular.

from the bloody designs of the tyrants, had procured him the name of *Brutus*,¹ which he refused not to be known by afterwards.

The youths thus engaged were brought to confer with the Aquilii; and all agreed to take a great and horrible oath, by drinking together of the blood,² and tasting the entrails of a man sacrificed for that purpose. This ceremony was performed in the house of the Aquilii; and the room chosen for it (as it was natural to suppose) was dark and retired. But a slave, named Vindicius, lurked there undiscovered. Not that he had placed himself in that room by design; nor had he any suspicion of what was going to be transacted; but happening to be there, and perceiving with what haste and concern they entered, he stopped short for fear of being seen, and hid himself behind a chest; yet so that he could see what was done, and hear what was resolved upon. They came to a resolution to kill the consuls; and having written letters to signify as much to Tarquin, they gave them to the ambassadors, who then were guests to the Aquilii, and present at the conspiracy.

When the affair was over they withdrew, and Vindicius, stealing from his lurking hole, was not determined what to do, but disturbed with doubts. He thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons of the most horrid crimes to their father Brutus, or the nephews to their uncle Collatinus; and it did not presently occur to him that any private Roman was fit to be trusted with so important a secret. On the other hand, he was so much tormented with the knowledge of such an abominable treason, that he could do anything rather than conceal it. At length, induced by the public spirit and humanity of Valerius, he bethought himself of applying to him, a man easy of access and willing to be consulted by the necessitous, whose house was always open, and who never refused to hear the petitions even of the meanest of the people.

Accordingly, Vindicius coming, and discovering to him the whole in the presence of his brother Marcus and his wife; Valerius, astonished and terrified at the plot, would not let the man go, but shut him up in the room, and left his wife to watch the door. Then he ordered his brother to surround the late king's palace, to seize the letters, if possible, and to secure the servants; while himself, with many clients and friends whom he always had about him, and a numerous retinue of servants, went to the house of the Aquilii. As they were gone out, and no one expected him, he forced open the doors, and found the letters in the ambassadors' room. Whilst he was thus employed, the Aquilii ran home in great haste, and engaged with him at the door, endeavouring to force the letters from him. But Valerius and his party repelled their attack, and twisting their gowns about their necks, after much struggling on both sides, dragged them with great difficulty through the streets into the *forum*. Marcus Valerius had the same success at the

¹ Tarquin had put the father and brother of Brutus to death.

² They thought such a horrible sacrifice

would oblige every member of the conspiracy to inviolable secrecy. Catalina put the same in practice afterwards.

royal palace, where he seized other letters, ready to be conveyed away among the goods, laid hands on what servants of the king's he could find, and had them also into the *forum*.

When the consuls had put a stop to the tumult, Vindicius was produced by order of Valerius; and the accusation being lodged, the letters were read, which the traitors had not the assurance to contradict. A melancholy stillness reigned among the rest; but a few, willing to favour Brutus, mentioned banishment. The tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mercy. But Brutus called upon each of his sons by name, and said, *You, Titus, and you Valerius,¹ why do you not make your defence against the charge?* After they have been thus questioned three several times, and made no answer, he turned to the *lictors*, and said, *Yours is the part that remains.* The *lictors* immediately laid hold on the youths, stripped them of their garments, and, having tied their hands behind them, flogged them severely with their rods. And though others turned their eyes aside, unable to endure the spectacle, yet it is said that Brutus neither looked another way, nor suffered pity in the least to smooth his stern and angry countenance,² regarding his sons as they suffered with a threatening aspect, till they were extended on the ground, and their heads cut off with the axe. Then he departed, leaving the rest to his colleague. This was an action which it is not easy to praise or condemn with propriety. For either the excess of virtue raised his soul above the influence of the passions, or else the excess of resentment depressed it into insensibility. Neither the one nor the other was natural, or suitable, to the human faculties, but was either divine or brutal. It is the more equitable, however, that our judgment should give its sanction to the glory of this great man, than that our weakness should incline us to doubt of his virtue. For *the Romans do not look upon it as so glorious a work, for Romulus to have built the city, as for Brutus to have founded and established the commonwealth.*

After Brutus had left the tribunal, the thought of what was done involved the rest in astonishment, horror, and silence. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave fresh spirits to the Aquilii, they begged time to make their defence, and desired that their slave Vindicius might be restored to them, and not remain with their accusers. The consul was inclined to grant their request, and thereupon to dismiss the assembly; but Valerius would neither suffer the slave to be taken from among the crowd, nor the people to dismiss the traitors and withdraw. At last he seized the criminals himself, and called for Brutus, exclaiming that Collatinus acted most unworthily, in laying his colleague under the hard necessity

¹ The name of Brutus's second son was not Valerius, but Tiberius.

² Livy gives a different account of Brutus's behaviour. *Quam inter omnes tempestas, acer, cuius que et os ejus, spectaculo erant, ammentis and mo patrio inter*

publicis pœne ministerium. There could not be a more striking spectacle than the countenance of Brutus, for anger not mixed with dignity, and he could not conceal the father, though he supported the magistrate. Liv. lib. ii. cap. 8.

of putting his own sons to death, and then inclining to gratify the women by releasing the betrayers and enemies of their country. Collatinus, upon this, losing all patience, commanded Vindicius to be taken away; the lictors made way through the crowd, seized the man, and came to blows with such as endeavoured to rescue him. The friends of Valerius stood upon their defence, and the people cried out for Brutus. Brutus returned; and silence being made, he said, *It was enough for him to give judgment upon his own sons; as for the rest, he left them to the sentence of the people, who were now free; and any one that chose it might plead before them.* They did not, however, wait for pleadings, but immediately put it to the vote, with one voice condemned them to die; and the traitors were beheaded. Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before, on account of his near relation to the royal family,¹ and one of his names was obnoxious to the people, for they abhorred the very name of Tarquin. But on this occasion he had provoked them beyond expression; and therefore he voluntarily resigned the consulship, and retired from the city. A new election consequently was held, and Valerius declared consul with great honour, as a proper mark of gratitude for his patriotic zeal. As he was of opinion that *Vindicius should have his share of the reward, he procured a decree of the people that the freedom of the city should be given him, which was never conferred on a slave before*, and that he should be enrolled in what tribe he pleased, and give his suffrage with it. As for other freedmen, Appius, wanting to make himself popular, procured them a right of voting, long after. *The act of enfranchising a slave is to this day called Vindicta, from this Vindicius.*

The next step that was taken was to give up the goods of the Tarquins to be plundered; and their palace and other houses were levelled with the ground. The pleasantest part of the *Campus Martius* had been in their possession, and this was now consecrated to the god Mars.² It happened to be the time of harvest, and the sheaves then lay upon the ground; but as it was consecrated, they thought it not lawful to thresh the corn, or to make use of it; a great number of hands, therefore, took it up in baskets, and threw it into the river. The trees were also cut down and thrown in after it, and the ground left entirely without fruit or product, for the service of the god.³ A great quantity of different sorts of things being thus thrown in together, they were not carried far by the current, but only to the shallows where the first heaps had stopped. Finding no farther passage, every thing settled there, and the whole was bound still faster by the river; for that washed down to it a

¹ Lucius Tarquinius, the son of Egerius, and nephew of Tarquinius Priscus, was called Collatinus, from Collatia, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius, the father of Collatinus, were first cousins.

² Plutarch should have said re-conse-

crated. For it was devoted to that god in the time of Romulus, as appears from his laws. But the Tarquins had sacrilegiously converted it to their own use.

³ A field so kept was very properly adapted to the service of the god of war who lays waste all before him.

deal of mud, which not only added to the mass, but served as a cement to it; and the current, far from dissolving it, by its gentle pressure, gave it the greater firmness. The bulk and solidity of this mass received continual additions, most of what was brought down by the Tiber settling there. It was now an island sacred to religious uses;¹ several temples and porticos have been built upon it, and it is called in Latin, *Inter duos pontes*,² the island *between the two bridges*. Some say, however, that this did not happen at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but some ages after, when Tarquinia, a vestal, gave another adjacent field to the public; for which *she was honoured with great privileges, particularly that of giving her testimony in court, which was refused to all other women*; they likewise voted her liberty to marry, but she did not accept it. This is the account, though seemingly fabulous, which some give of the matter.

Tarquin despairing to reascend the throne by stratagem, applied to the Tuscans, who gave him a kind reception, and prepared to conduct him back with a great armament. The consuls led the Roman forces against them; and the two armies were drawn up in certain consecrated parcels of ground, the one called the Arsian grove, the other the Æsuvian meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns, the son of Tarquin, and Brutus the Roman consul,³ met each other, not by accident, but design; animated by hatred and resentment, the one against a tyrant and enemy of his country, the other to revenge his banishment, they spurred their horses to their encounter. As they engaged rather with fury than conduct, they laid themselves open, and fell by each other's hand. The battle, whose onset was so dreadful, had not a milder conclusion; the carnage was prodigious, and equal on both sides, till at length the armies were separated by a storm.

Valerius was in great perplexity, as he knew not which side had the victory, and found his men as much dismayed at the sight of their own dead, as animated by the loss of the enemy. So great, indeed, was the slaughter, that it could not be distinguished who had the advantage; and each army having a near view of their own loss, and only guessing at that of the enemy, were inclined to think themselves vanquished, rather than victorious. When night came on (such a night as one might imagine after so bloody a day), and both camps were hushed in silence and repose, it is said that the grove shook, and a loud voice proceeding from it declared, that *the Tuscans had lost one man more than the Romans*. The voice was undoubtedly divine;⁴ for immediately upon that the Romans

¹ Livy says it was secured against the force of the current by jettees.

² The Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the side of the capitol, and the Cælian bridge on the side of the Janiculum gate.

³ Brutus is deservedly reckoned among the most illustrious heroes. He restored liberty to his country, secured it with the

blood of his own sons, and died in defending it against a tyrant. The Romans afterwards erected his statue in the capitol, where he was placed in the midst of the kings of Rome, with a naked sword in his hand.

⁴ It was said to be the voice of the god Pan.

recovered their spirits, and the field rang with acclamations ; while the Tuscans, struck with fear and confusion, deserted their camp, and most of them dispersed. As for those that remained, who were not quite 5000, the Romans took them prisoners, and plundered the camp. When the dead were numbered, there were found on the side of the Tuscans 11,300, and on that of the Romans as many excepting one. This battle is said to have been fought on the last of February. *Valerius was honoured with a triumph, and was the first consul who made his entry in a chariot and four.* The occasion rendered the spectacle glorious and venerable, not invidious, and (as some would have it) grievous to the Romans ; for, if that had been the case, the custom would not have been so zealously kept up, nor would the ambition to attain a triumph have lasted so many ages. *The people were pleased, too, with the honours paid by Valerius to the remains of his colleague, his burying him with so much pomp, and pronouncing his funeral oration ;* which last the Romans so generally approved, or rather were so much charmed with, that afterwards all the great and illustrious men among them, upon their decease, had their encomium from persons of distinction.¹ This funeral oration was more ancient than any among the Greeks ; unless we allow what Anaximenes, the orator, relates, that Solon was the author of this custom.

But that which offended and exasperated the people was this : Brutus, whom they considered as the father of liberty, would not rule alone, but took to himself a first and a second colleague ; *yet this man (said they) grasps the whole authority, and is not the successor to the consulate of Brutus, to which he has no right, but to the tyranny of Tarquin. To what purpose is it in words to extol Brutus, and in deeds to imitate Tarquin, while he has all the rods and axes carried before him alone, and sets out from a house more stately than the royal palace which he demolished ?* It is true, Valerius did live in a house too lofty and superb, on the Velian eminence, which commanded the *forum* and every thing that passed ; and as the avenues were difficult, and the ascent steep, when he came down from it his appearance was very pompous, and resembled the state of a king rather than that of a consul. But he soon showed of what consequence it is for persons in high stations and authority to have their ears open to truth and good advice, rather than flattery. For when his friends informed him that most people thought he was taking wrong steps, he made no dispute, nor expressed any resentment, but hastily assented a number of workmen whilst it was yet night, who demolished his house entirely ; so that when the Romans in the morning assembled to look upon it, they admired and adored his magnanimity ; but, at the same time,

¹ Funeral orations were not in use among the Greeks till the battle of Marathon, which was sixteen years after the death of Brutus. The heroes that fell so gloriously there did indeed well deserve such eulogiums ; and the Grecians never

granted them but to those that were slain fighting for their country. In this respect the custom of the Romans was more equitable ; for they honoured with those public marks of regard such as had served their country in any capacity.

were troubled to see so grand and magnificent an edifice ruined by the envy of the citizens, as they would have lamented the death of a great man who had fallen as suddenly, and by the same cause. It gave them pain, too, to see the consul, who had now no home, obliged to take shelter in another man's house. For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people provided a piece of ground for him, where a less stately house was built in the place where the temple of *Victory* now stands.¹

Desirous to make his high office, as well as himself, rather agreeable than formidable to the people, he ordered the axes to be taken away from the rods, and that, whenever he went to the great assembly, the rods should be unveiled in respect to the citizens, as if the supreme power were lodged in *them*.² A custom which the consuls observe to this day. The people were not aware that by this he did not lessen his own power (as they imagined), but only by such an instance of moderation obviated and cut off all occasion of envy; and gained as much authority to his person as he seemed to take from his office; for they all submitted to him with pleasure, and were so much charmed with his behaviour, that they gave him the name of *Publicola*, that is, the *People's respectful friend*. In this both his former names were lost; and this we shall make use of in the sequel of his life.

Indeed, it was no more than his due; for he permitted all to sue for the consulship.³ Yet before a colleague was appointed him, as he knew not what might happen, and was apprehensive of some opposition from ignorance or envy, while he had the sole power he made use of it to establish some of the most useful and excellent regulations. In the first place, he filled up the senate, which then was very thin; several of that august body having been put to death by Tarquin before, and others fallen in the late battle. He is said to have made up the number of 164. In the next place, he caused certain laws to be enacted, which greatly augmented the power of the people. The first gave liberty of appeal from the consuls to the people; the second made it death to enter upon the magistracy, without the people's consent; the third was greatly in favour of the poor, as, by exempting them from taxes,⁴ it promoted their attention to manufactures. Even his law against disobedience to the consuls was not less popular than the rest; and, in effect, it favoured the commonalty rather than the great; for the fine was only the value of five oxen and two sheep. The value of a sheep was ten *as*, of

¹ Plutarch has it, *where the temple called Vetus Publicus now stands*. He had found in the historians *vicus ovæ*, which in old Latin signifies victory; but as he did not understand it, he substituted *Vetus Publicus*, which here would have no sense at all.

² The axes too were still borne before the consuls when they were in the field.

³ If Publicola gave the plebeians, as well as the patricians, a right to the con-

sulate, that right did not then take place. For Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian who arrived at that honour, many ages after the time of which Plutarch speaks; and this continued but eleven years; for in the twelfth, which was the 400th year of Rome, both the consuls were again patricians. Liv. vii. cap. 18.

⁴ He exempted artificers, widows, and old men, who had no children to relieve them, from paying tribute.

an ox, 100;¹ the Romans as yet not making much use of money, because their wealth consisted in abundance of cattle. To this day they call their substance *peculia*, from *pecus*, cattle, their most ancient coins having the impression of an ox, a sheep, or a hog; and their sons being distinguished with the names of *Suilli*, *Bulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, derived from the names of such animals.

Though these laws of Publicola were popular and equitable, yet amidst this moderation, the punishment he appointed, in one case, was severe. For he made it lawful, without a form of trial, to kill any man that should attempt to set himself up for king; and the person that took away his life was to stand excused, if he could make proof of the intended crime. His reason for such a law, we presume, was this; though it is not possible that he who undertakes so great an enterprise should escape all notice, yet it is very probable that, though suspected, he may accomplish his designs before he can be brought to answer for it in a judicial way; and as the crime, if committed, would prevent his being called to account for it, this law empowered any one to punish him before such cognisance was taken.

His law concerning the treasury did him honour. It was necessary that money should be raised for the war from the estates of the citizens, but he determined that neither himself nor any of his friends should have the disposal of it; nor would he suffer it to be lodged in any private house. He, therefore, appointed the temple of Saturn to be the treasury, which they still make use of for that purpose, and empowered the people to choose two young men as *quæstors*, or *treasurers*.² The first were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a large sum was collected; for 130,000 persons were taxed, though the orphans and widows stood excused.

These matters thus regulated, he procured Lucretius, the father of the injured Lucretia, to be appointed his colleague. To him he gave the *fascës* (as they are called) together with the presidency, as the older man; and this mark of respect to age has ever since continued. As Lucretius died a few days after, another election was held, and Marcus Horatius Pulvillus appointed in his room for the remaining part of the year.

About that time, Tarquin making preparations for a second war against the Romans, a great prodigy is said to have happened. This prince, while yet upon the throne, had almost finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, when, either by the direction of an oracle,³ or upon some fancy of his own, he ordered the artists of

¹ Before, the fine was such that the commonly could not pay without absolute ruin.

² The office of the quæstors was to take care of the public treasure, for which they were accountable when their year was out; to furnish the necessary sums for the service of the public; and to receive ambassadors, attend them, and provide them with lodgings and other necessaries. A general could not obtain the honours of

a triumph till he had given them a faithful account of the spoils he had taken, and sworn to it. There were at first two quæstors only, but when the Roman empire was considerably enlarged, their number was increased. The office of quæstor, though often discharged by persons who had been consuls, was the first step to great employments.

³ It was an usual thing to place chariots on the tops of temples.

Veii to make an earthen chariot, which was to be placed on the top of it. Soon after this he forfeited the crown. The Tuscans, however, moulded the chariot, and set it in the furnace; but the case was very different with it from that of other clay in the fire, which condenses and contracts upon the exhalation of the moisture, whereas it enlarged itself and swelled, till it grew to such a size and hardness that it was with difficulty they got it out, even after the furnace was dismantled. The soothsayers being of opinion that this chariot betokened power and success to the persons with whom it should remain, the people of Veii determined not to give it up to the Romans; but, upon their demanding it, returned this answer, That it belonged to Tarquin, not to those that had driven him from his kingdom. It happened that a few days after there was a chariot race at Veii, which was observed as usual; except that, as the charioteer, who had won the prize and received the crown, was gently driving out of the ring, the horses took fright from no visible cause; but, either by some direction of the gods, or turn of fortune, ran away with their driver, at full speed, towards Rome. It was in vain that he pulled the reins, or soothed them with words, he was obliged to give way to the career, and was whirled along till they came to the capitol, where they flung him, at the gate now called *Ratumena*. The Veientes, surprised and terrified at this incident, ordered the artist to deliver up the chariot.¹

Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, in his wars with the Sabines, made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which was performed by Tarquin *the proud*, son or grandson to the former. He did not, however, consecrate it, for it was not quite finished when he was expelled from Rome.² When the last hand was put to it, and it had received every suitable ornament, Publicola was ambitious of the honour of dedicating it. This excited the envy of some of the nobility, who could better brook his other honours; to which, indeed, in his legislative and military capacities, he had a better claim; but, as he had no concern in this, they did not think proper to grant it him, but encouraged and importuned Horatius to apply for it. In the mean time, Publicola's command of the army necessarily required his absence, and his adversaries taking the opportunity to procure an order from the people that Horatius should dedicate the temple, conducted him to the capitol. A point which they could not have gained had Publicola been present. Yet, some say, the consuls having cast lots for it,³ the dedication fell to Horatius, and the expedition, against his inclination, to Publicola. But we may easily conjecture how they stood disposed,

¹ A miracle of this kind, and not less extraordinary, is said to have happened in modern Rome. When poor St. Michael's church was in a ruinous condition, the horses that were employed in drawing stones through the city unanimously agreed to carry their loads to St. Michael.

² This temple was 200 feet long, and 135 and upwards broad. The front was

adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the nave were three shrines, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

³ Livy says positively, *they cast lots for it*. Plutarch seems to have taken the sequel of the story from him. Liv. lib. ii. c. 8.

by the proceedings on the day of dedication. This was Sept. 13, which is about the full moon of the month, *Melagistion*, when prodigious numbers of all ranks being assembled, and silence enjoined, Horatius, after the other ceremonies, took hold of one of the gate-posts (as the custom is), and was going to pronounce the prayer of consecration. But Marcus, the brother of Publicola, who had stood for some time by the gates watching his opportunity, cried out, *Consul, your son lies dead in the camp*. This gave great pain to all who heard it; but the consul, not in the least disconcerted, made answer, *Then cast out the dead where you please, I admit of no mourning on this occasion*; and so proceeded to finish the dedication. The news was not true, but an invention of Marcus, who hoped by that means to hinder Horatius from completing what he was about. But his presence of mind was equally admirable, whether he immediately perceived the falsity, or believed the account to be true, without showing any emotion.

The same fortune attended the dedication of the second temple. The first, built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, was afterwards destroyed by fire in the civil wars.¹ Sylla rebuilt it, but did not live to consecrate it; so the dedication of this second temple fell to Catullus. It was again destroyed in the troubles which happened in the time of Vitellius; and a third was built by Vespasian, who, with his usual good fortune, put the last hand to it, but did not see it demolished, as it was soon after: happier in this respect than Sylla, who died before his was dedicated. Vespasian died before his was destroyed. For immediately after his decease, the capitol was burned. The fourth, which now stands, was built and dedicated by Domitian. Tarquin is said to have expended 30,000 lbs. weight of silver upon the foundations only; but the greatest wealth any private man is supposed to be now possessed of in Rome would not answer the expense of the gilding of the present temple, which amounted to more than 12,000 talents.² The pillars are of Pentelic marble, and the thickness was in excellent proportion to their length, when we saw them at Athens; but when they were cut and polished anew at Rome, they gained not so much in the polish, as they lost in the proportion; for their beauty is injured by their appearing too slender for their height. But after

¹ After the first temple was destroyed in the wars between Sylla and Marius, Sylla rebuilt it with columns of marble, which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and transported to Rome. But (as Plutarch observes) he did not live to consecrate it; and he was heard to say, as he was dying, that his leaving that temple to be dedicated by another was the only unfortunate circumstance of his life.

² £184,350 sterling. In this we may see the great distance between the wealth of private citizens in a free country, and that of the subjects of an arbitrary monarch. In Trajan's time there was not a

private man in Rome worth £300,000; whereas under the commonwealth, *Æmilius Scaurus*, in his oldship, erected a temporary theatre which cost above £500,000; *Marcus Crassus* had an estate in land above a million a year; *L. Cornelius Balbus* left by will, to every Roman citizen, twenty-five *denarii*, which amounts to about sixteen shillings of our money; and many private men among the Romans maintained from 10,000 to 20,000 slaves, not so much for service as ostentation. No wonder then that the slaves once took up arms, and went to war with the Roman commonwealth.

admiring the magnificence of the capitol, if any one was to go and see a gallery, a hall, or bath, or the apartments of the women, in Domitian's palace, what is said by Epicharmus of a prodigal,

Your lavish'd stores speak not the liberal mind,
But the disease of giving;

ne might apply to Domitian in some such manner as this: *Neither piety nor magnificence appears in your expense; you have the disease of building; like Midas of old, you would turn every thing to gold and marble.* So much for this subject.

Let us now return to Tarquin. After that great battle in which he lost his son, who was killed in single combat by Brutus, he fled to Clusium, and begged assistance of Laras Porsena, then the most powerful prince in Italy and a man of great worth and honour. Porsena promised him succours;¹ and, in the first place, sent to the Romans, commanding them to receive Tarquin. Upon their refusal, he declared war against them; and having informed them of the time when, and the place where, he would make his assault, he marched thither accordingly with a great army. Publicola, who was then absent, was chosen consul the second time,² and with him Titus Lucretius. Returning to Rome, and desirous to outdo Porsena in spirit,³ he built the town of Sigliuria, notwithstanding the enemy's approach; and when he had finished the walls at a great expense, he placed in it a colony of 700 men, as if he held his adversary very cheap. Porsena, however, assaulted it in a spirited manner, drove out the garrison, and pursued the fugitives so close that he was near entering Rome along with them. But Publicola met him without the gates, and joining battle by the river, sustained the enemy's attack, who pressed on with numbers, till at last sinking under the wounds he had gallantly received, he was carried out of the battle. Lucretius, his colleague, having the same fate, the courage of the Romans drooped, and they retreated into the city for security. The enemy making good the pursuit to the wooden bridge, Rome was in great danger of being taken; when Horatius Coclès,⁴ and with him two others of the first rank, Herminius and Spurius Lartius, stopped them at the bridge. Horatius had the surname of *Coclès* from his having lost an eye in the wars; or, as some will have it, from the form of his nose, which was so very flat, that both his eyes as well as eye-brows, seemed to be joined together; so that when the vulgar intended to call him *Cyclops*, by a misnomer, they called him *Coclès*, which name remained with him. This man, standing at the head of the bridge, defended it against

¹ Besides that Porsena was willing to assist a distressed king, he considered the Tarquins as his countrymen, for they were of Tuscan extraction.

² It was when Publicola was consul the third time, and had for his colleague Horatius Pulvillus, that Porsena marched against Rome.

³ Sigliuria was not built at this time, nor out of ostentation, as Plutarch says;

for it was built as a barrier against the Latins and the Hernici, and not in the third, but in the second consulship of Publicola.

⁴ He was son to a brother of Horatius the consul, and a descendant of that Horatius who remained victorious in the great combat between the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

the enemy, till the Romans broke it down behind him. Then he plunged into the Tiber, armed as he was, and swam to the other side, but was wounded in the hip with a Tuscan spear. Publicola, struck with admiration of his valour, immediately procured a decree, that every Roman should give him one day's provisions;¹ and that he should have as much land as he himself could encircle with a plough in one day. Besides, they erected his statue in brass in the temple of Vulcan, with a view to console him by this honour for his wound, and lameness consequent upon it.

While Porsena laid close siege to the city, the Romans were attacked with famine, and another body of Tuscans laid waste the country. Publicola, who was now consul the third time, was of opinion that no operations could be carried on against Porsena but defensive ones. He marched out,² however, privately against those Tuscans who had committed such ravages, defeated them, and killed 5000.

The story of Mucius Cordus has been the subject of many pens, and is variously related : I shall give that account of it which seems most credible. Mucius was in all respects a man of merit, but particularly distinguished by his valour. Having secretly formed a scheme to take off Porsena, he made his way into his camp in a Tuscan dress, where he likewise took care to speak the Tuscan language. In this disguise he approached the seat where the king sat with his nobles ; and as he did not certainly know Porsena, and thought it improper to ask, he drew his sword and killed the person that seemed most likely to be the king. Upon this he was seized and examined. Meantime, as there happened to be a portable altar there, with fire upon it, where the king was about to offer sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right hand into it,³ and as the flesh was burning, he kept looking upon Porsena with a firm and menacing aspect, till the king, astonished at his fortitude, returned him his sword with his own hand. He received it with his left hand, from whence we are told he had the surname of *Scævola*, which signifies *left-handed* : and thus addressed himself to Porsena, "Your threatenings I regarded not, but am conquered by your generosity, and out of gratitude will declare to you what no force should have wrested from me. There are 300 Romans that have taken the same resolution with mine, who now walk about your camp, watching their opportunity. It was my lot to make the first attempt, and I am not sorry that my sword was directed by fortune against another, instead of a man of so much honour, who, as such, should rather be a friend than an enemy to the Romans." Porsena believed this account, and was more inclined to hearken to terms, not so much

¹ Probably he had 300,000 contributors, for even the women readily gave in their quota.

² The consuls spread a report which was soon carried into the Tuscan camp by the slaves who deserted, that the next day all the cattle brought thither from the country would be sent to graze in the

fields under a guard. This bait drew the enemy into an ambush.

³ Livy says that Porsena threatened Mucius with the torture by fire, to make him discover his accomplices ; whereupon Mucius thrust his hand into the flame, to let him see that he was not to be intimidated.

in my opinion through fear of 300 assassins, as admiration of the dignity of the Roman valour. All authors call this man Mucius Sævola,¹ except Athenodorus Sandon, who, in a work addressed to Octavia, sister to Augustus, says he was named Posthumus.

Publicola, who did not look upon Porsena as so bitter an enemy to Rome, but that he deserved to be taken into its friendship and alliance, was so far from refusing to refer the dispute with Tarquin to his decision, that he was really desirous of it, and several times offered to prove that Tarquin was the worst of men, and justly deprived of the crown. When Tarquin roughly answered, that he would admit of no arbitrator, much less of Porsena, if he changed his mind and forsook his alliance, Porsena was offended, and began to entertain an ill opinion of him; being likewise solicited to it by his son Aruns, who used all his interest for the Romans, he was prevailed upon to put an end to the war on condition that they gave up that part of Tuscany which they had conquered,² together with the prisoners, and received their deserters. For the performance of these conditions, they gave as hostages ten young men and as many virgins, of the best families in Rome; among whom was Valeria the daughter of Publicola.

Upon the faith of this treaty, Porsena had ceased from all acts of hostility, when the Roman virgins went down to bathe, at a place where the bank forming itself in a crescent, embraces the river in such a manner that there it is quite calm and undisturbed with waves. As no guard was near, and they saw none passing or re-passing, they had a violent inclination to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and strength of the stream. Some say, one of them, named Clœlia, passed it on horseback, and encouraged the other virgins as they swam. When they came safe to Publicola, he neither commended nor approved their exploit, but was grieved to think he should appear unequal to Porsena in point of honour, and that this daring enterprise of the virgins should make the Romans suspected of unfair proceeding. He took them, therefore, and sent them back to Porsena. Tarquin, having timely intelligence of this, laid an ambuscade for them, and attacked their convoy. They defended themselves, though greatly inferior in number; and Valeria, the daughter of Publicola, broke through them as they were engaged, with three servants, who conducted her safe to Porsena's camp. As the skirmish was not yet decided, nor the danger over, Aruns, the son of Porsena, being informed of it, marched up with all speed, put the enemy to flight, and rescued the Romans. When Porsena saw the virgins returned, he demanded which of them was she that proposed the design, and set the example. When he understood that Clœlia was the person, he treated her with great politeness, and commanding one of his own horses to be brought with very elegant trappings, he made her a present of it. Those that say Clœlia was the only one that passed the river on horseback allege this as a proof. Others say no such consequence can be

¹ Mucius was rewarded with a large piece of ground belonging to the public.

² The Romans were required to rein-

state the Volentes in the possession of seven villages, which they had taken from them in former wars.

drawn from it, and that it was nothing more than a mark of honour to her from the Tuscan king for her bravery. An equestrian statue of her stands in the *Via sacra*,¹ where it leads to Mount Palatine; yet some will have even this to be Valeria's statue, not Cloelia's.

Porsena, thus reconciled to the Romans, gave many proofs of his greatness of mind. Among the rest, he ordered the Tuscans to carry off nothing but their arms, and to leave their camp full of provisions, and many other things of value, for the Romans. Hence it is that, even in our times, whenever there is a sale of goods belonging to the public, they are cried first as the goods of Porsena, to eternise the memory of his generosity. A brazen statue, of rude and antique workmanship, was also erected to his honour, near the senate-house.²

After this, the Sabines invading the Roman territory, Marcus Valerius, brother to Publicola, and Posthumius Tubertus, were elected consuls. As every important action was still conducted by the advice and assistance of Publicola, Marcus gained two great battles; in the second of which he killed 13,000 of the enemy, without the loss of one Roman. For this he was not only rewarded with a triumph, but a house was built for him at the public expense on Mount Palatine. And whereas the doors of other houses at that time opened inwards, the street door of that house was made to open outwards, to show by such an honourable distinction that he was always ready to receive any proposals for the public service.³ All the doors in Greece, they tell us, were formerly made to open so, which they prove from those passages in the comedies where it is mentioned, that those that went out knocked loud on the inside of the door first, to give warning to such as passed by or stood before them, lest the doors in opening should dash against them.

The year following Publicola was appointed consul the fourth time, because a confederacy between the Sabines and Latins threatened a war; and, at the same time, the city was oppressed with superstitious terrors, on account of the imperfect births, and general abortions among the women. Publicola, having consulted the Sibyl's books upon it,⁴ offered sacrifice to Pluto, and renewed

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus tells us in express terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Augustus, there were no remains of that statue, it having been consumed by fire.

² The senate likewise sent an embassy to him, with a present of a throne adorned with ivory, a sceptre, a crown of gold, and a triumphal robe.

³ Posthumius had his share in the triumph, as well as in the achievements.

⁴ An unknown woman is said to have come to Tarquin with nine volumes of oracles written by the Sibyl of Cuma, for which she demanded a very considerable price. Tarquin refusing to purchase them at her rate, she burned three of them, and then asked the same price for the remaining six. Her proposal being rejected with scorn, she burned three more, and, notwithstanding, still insisted on her first

price. Tarquin, surprised at the novelty of the thing, put the books into the hands of the augurs to be examined, who advised to purchase them at any rate. Accordingly he did, and appointed two persons of distinction, styled *Dumoviri*, to be guardians of them, who locked them up in a vault under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and there they were kept till they were burned with the temple itself. These officers, whose number was afterwards increased, consulted the Sybiline books by direction of the senate, when some dangerous sedition was likely to break out, when the Roman armies had been defeated, or when any of those prodigies appeared which were thought fatal. They also presided over the sacrifices and shows, which they appointed to appease the wrath of Heaven.

certain games that had formerly been instituted by the direction of the Delphic oracle. When he had revived the city with the pleasing hope that the gods were appeased, he prepared to arm against the menaces of men; for there appeared to be a formidable league and strong armament against him. Among the Sabines, Appius Claudius was a man of an opulent fortune, and remarkable personal strength; famed, moreover, for his virtues, and the force of his eloquence. What is the fate of all great men, to be persecuted by envy, was likewise his; and his opposing the war gave a handle to malignity to insinuate that he wanted to strengthen the Roman power, in order the more easily to enslave his own country. Perceiving that the populace gave a willing ear to these calumnies, and that he was become obnoxious to the abettors of the war, he was apprehensive of an impeachment; but being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he bade his enemies defiance. This delayed the war; Publicola making it his business not only to get intelligence of this sedition, but also to encourage and inflame it, sent proper persons to Appius, to tell him, "That he was sensible he was a man of too much goodness and integrity to avenge himself of his countrymen, though greatly injured by them; but if he chose, for his security, to come over to the Romans, and to get out of the way of his enemies, he should find such a reception both in public and private, as was suitable to his virtue and the dignity of Rome." Appius considered this proposal with great attention, and the necessity of his affairs prevailed with him to accept of it. He, therefore, persuaded his friends, and they influenced many others, so that 5000 men of the most peaceable disposition of any among the Sabines, with their families, removed with him to Rome. Publicola, who was prepared for it, received them in the most friendly and hospitable manner, admitted them to the freedom of the city, and gave them two acres of land a-piece, by the river Anio. To Appius he gave 25 acres, and a seat in the senate. This laid the foundation of his greatness in the republic, and he used the advantage with so much prudence, as to rise to the first rank in power and authority. The Claudian family,¹ descended from him, is as illustrious as any in Rome.

Though the disputes among the Sabines were decided by this migration, the demagogues would not suffer them to rest; representing it as a matter of great disgrace, if Appius, now a deserter and an enemy, should be able to obstruct their taking vengeance of the Romans, when he could not prevent it by his presence. They advanced, therefore, with a great army, and encamped near Fidenæ. Having ordered 2000 men to lie in ambush in the shrubby and hollow places before Rome, they appointed a few horse at daybreak to ravage the country up to the very gates, and then to

¹ There were two families of the *Claudii* in Rome; one patrician and the other plebeian. The first had the surname of *Publicola*, and the other of *Marcellus*. In course of time the patrician family pro-

duced 23 consuls, 5 dictators, and 7 censors, and obtained two triumphs and two ovations. The emperor *Tiberius* was descended from this family.

retreat, till they drew the enemy into the ambuscade. But Publicola, getting information that very day of these particulars from deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of his forces. Posthumius Balbus, his son-in-law, went out with 3000 men, as it began to grow dark, and having taken possession of the summits of the hills under which the Sabines had concealed themselves, watched his opportunity. His colleague Lucretius, with the lightest and most active of the Romans, was appointed to attack the Sabine cavalry, as they were driving off the cattle, while himself with the rest of the forces took a large compass, and enclosed the enemy's rear. The morning happened to be very foggy, when Posthumius, at dawn, with loud shouts, fell upon the ambuscade from the heights, Lucretius charged the horse in their retreat, and Publicola attacked the enemy's camp. The Sabines were everywhere worsted and put to the rout. As the Romans met not with the least resistance, the slaughter was prodigious. It is clear that the vain confidence of the Sabines was the principal cause of their ruin. While one part thought the other was safe, they did not stand upon their defence; those in the camp ran towards the corps that was placed in ambuscade, while they, in their turn, endeavoured to regain the camp. Thus they fell in with each other in great disorder, and in mutual want of that assistance which neither was able to give. The Sabines would have been entirely cut off had not the city of Fidenæ been so near, which proved an asylum to some, particularly those that fled when the camp was taken. Such as did not take refuge there were either destroyed or taken prisoners.

The Romans, though accustomed to ascribe every great event to the interposition of the gods, gave the credit of this victory solely to the general; and the first thing the soldiers were heard to say was, that Publicola had put the enemy in their hands, lame, blind, and almost bound, for the slaughter. The people were enriched with the plunder and the sale of prisoners. As for Publicola, he was honoured with a triumph; and having surrendered the administration to the succeeding consuls, he died soon after; thus finishing his life in circumstances esteemed the happiest and most glorious that man can attain to.¹ The people, as if they had done nothing to requite his merit in his lifetime, decreed, that his funeral should be solemnised at the public charge; and to make it the more honourable, every one contributed a piece of money called *quadrans*. Besides, the women, out of particular regard to his memory, continued the mourning for him a whole year. By an order of the citizens, his body was likewise interred within the city, near the place called *Velia*, and all his family were to have a burying-place there. At present, indeed, none of his descendants are interred in that ground; they only carry the corpse and set it down

¹ He was the most virtuous citizen, one of the greatest generals, and the most popular consul Rome ever had. As he had taken more care to transmit his virtues to posterity, than to enrich them;

and as, notwithstanding the frugality of his life, and the great offices he had borne, there was not found money enough in his house to defray the charges of his funeral, he was buried at the expense of the public.

there, when one of the attendants puts a lighted torch under it, which he immediately takes back again. Thus they claim by that act the right, but waive the privilege; for the body is taken away, and interred without the walls.

CAIUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

THE family of the Marcii afforded Rome many illustrious patricians. Of this house was Ancus Marcius, who was grandson to Numa by his daughter; as were also Publius and Quintus Marcius, who supplied Rome with plenty of the best water. Censorinus, too, who was twice appointed *Censor by the people of Rome, and who procured a law that no man should ever bear that office twice afterwards*, had the same pedigree.

Caius Marcius, of whom I now write, was brought up by his mother in her widowhood; and from him it appeared that the loss of a father, though attended with other disadvantages, is no hindrance to a man's improving in virtue and attaining to a distinguished excellence; though bad men sometimes allege it as an excuse for their corrupt lives. On the other hand, the same Marcius became witness to the truth of that maxim, that if a generous and noble nature be not thoroughly formed by discipline, it will shoot forth many bad qualities along with the good, as the richest soil, if not cultivated, produces the rankest weeds. His undaunted courage and firmness of mind excited him to many great actions, and carried him through them with honour. But, at the same time, the violence of his passions, his spirit of contention and excessive obstinacy, rendered him untractable and disagreeable in conversation. So that those very persons who saw with admiration his soul unshaken with pleasures, toils, and riches, and allowed him to be possessed of the virtues of temperance, justice, and fortitude, yet in the councils and affairs of state, could not endure his imperious temper, and that savage manner, which was too haughty for a republic. Indeed, *there is no other advantage to be had from a liberal education, equal to that of polishing and softening our nature by reason and discipline; for that produces an evenness of behaviour, and banishes from our manners all extremes.* There is this, however, to be said, that in those times *military abilities were deemed by the Romans the highest excellence, insomuch that the term which they use for virtue in general, was applied by them to valour in particular.*

Marcus, for his part, had a more than ordinary inclination for war, and, therefore, from a child began to handle his weapons. As he thought that artificial arms avail but little, unless those with which nature has supplied us be well improved and kept ready for use, he so prepared himself by exercise for every kind of combat that, while his limbs were active and nimble enough for pursuing,

such was his force and weight of wrestling and in grappling with the enemy, that none could easily get clear of him. Those, therefore, that had any contest with him for the prize of courage and valour, though they failed of success, flattered themselves with imputing it to his invincible strength, which nothing could resist or fatigue.

He made his first campaign when he was very young,¹ when Tarquin, who had reigned in Rome, was driven from the throne, and after many battles, fought with bad success, was now venturing all upon the last throw. Most of the people at Latium, and many other states of Italy, were now assisting and marching towards Rome, to re-establish him, not through any regard they had for Tarquin, but for fear and envy of the Romans, whose growing greatness they were desirous to check. A battle ensued, with various turns of fortune. Marcius distinguished himself that day in sight of the dictator; for seeing a Roman pushed down at a small distance from him, he hastened to his help, and standing before him, he engaged his adversary and slew him. When the dispute was decided in favour of the Romans, the general presented Marcius, among the first, with an oak leaf crown.² This is the reward which their custom assigns to the man who saves the life of a citizen; either because they honoured the oak for the sake of the Arcadians, whom the oracle called *acorn eaters*; or because an oak leaf branch is most easy to be had, be the scene of action where it will; or because they think it most suitable to take a crown for him who is the means of saving a citizen, from the tree which is sacred to Jupiter, the protector of cities. Besides, the oak bears more and fairer fruit than any tree that grows wild, and is the strongest of those that are cultivated in plantations. It afforded the first ages both food and drink by its acorns and honey; and supplied men with birds and other creatures for dainties, as it produced the mistletoe, of which birdlime is made.³

Castor and Pollux are said to have appeared in that battle, and with their horses dropping sweat, to have been seen soon after in the *forum*, announcing the victory near the fountain, where the temple now stands. Hence also it is said, that the 15th of July,⁴ being the day on which that victory was gained, is consecrated to those sons of Jupiter.

It generally happens, that when men of small ambition are very early distinguished by the voice of fame, their thirst of honour is soon quenched and their desires satiated; whereas deep and solid

¹ In the first year of the 71st Olympiad, the 26th of Rome, 493 B.C.

² The civic crown was the foundation of many privileges. He who had once obtained it had a right to wear it always. When he appeared at the public spectacles, the senators rose up to do him honour. He was placed near their bench; and his father, and grandfather by the father's side, were entitled to the same privileges. Here was an encouragement to merit,

which cost the public nothing, and yet was productive of many great effects.

³ It does not anywhere appear that the ancients made use of the oak in ship-building, how much nobler an encomium might an English historian afford that tree than Plutarch has been able to give it!

⁴ By the great disorder of the Roman calendar, July 15th then fell upon 24th of our October.

minds are improved and brightened by marks of distinction, which serve, as a brisk gale, to drive them forward in the pursuit of glory. They do not so much think that they have received a reward, as that they have given a pledge, which would make them blush to fall short of the expectations of the public, and therefore they endeavour by their actions to exceed them. Marcius had a soul of this frame. He was always endeavouring to excel himself, and meditating some exploit which might set him in a new light, adding achievement to achievement, and spoils to spoils; therefore, the latter generals under whom he served were always striving to outdo the former in the honours they paid him, and in the tokens of their esteem. The Romans at that time were engaged in several wars, and fought many battles, and there was not one that Marcius returned from without some honorary crown, some ennobling distinction. The end which others proposed in their acts of valour was glory; but *he pursued glory because the acquisition of it delighted his mother.* For when she was witness to the applauses he received, when she saw him crowned, when she embraced him with tears of joy, then it was that he reckoned himself at the height of honour and felicity. *Epaminondas had the same sentiments, and declared it the chief happiness of his life, that his father and mother lived to see the generalship he exerted and the victory he won at Leuctra.* He had the satisfaction, indeed, to see both his parents rejoice in his success, and partake of his good fortune; but only the mother of Marcius, Volumnia, was living, and therefore holding himself obliged to pay her all that duty which would have belonged to his father, over and above what was due to herself, he thought he could never sufficiently express his tenderness and respect. He even married in compliance with her desire and request, and after his wife had borne him children, still lived in the same house with his mother.

At the time when the reputation and interest which his virtue had procured him in Rome were very great, the senate, taking the part of the richer sort of citizens, were at variance with the common people, who were used by their creditors with intolerable cruelty. Those that had something considerable were stripped of their goods, which were either detained for security or sold; and those that had nothing were dragged into prison, and there bound with fetters, though their bodies were full of wounds, and worn out with fighting for their country. The last expedition they were engaged in was against the Sabines, on which occasion their rich creditors promised to treat them with more lenity, and, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, M. Valerius the consul was guarantee of that promise. But when they had cheerfully undergone the fatigues of that war, and were returned victorious, and yet found that the usurers made them no abatement, and that the senate pretended to remember nothing of that agreement, but without any sort of concern saw them dragged to prison, and their goods seized upon as formerly, then they filled the city with tumult and sedition.

The enemy, apprised of these intestine broils, invaded the Roman

territories, and laid them waste with fire and sword. And when the consuls called upon such as were able to bear arms to give in their names, not a man took any notice of it. Something was then to be done; but the magistrates differed in their opinions. Some thought the poor should have a little indulgence, and that the extreme rigour of the law ought to be softened. Others declared absolutely against that proposal, and particularly Marcius. Not that he thought the money a matter of great consequence, but he considered this specimen of the people's insolence as an attempt to subvert the laws, and the forerunner of farther disorders, which it became a wise government timely to restrain and suppress.

The senate assembled several times within the space of a few days, and debated this point; but as they came to no conclusion, on a sudden the commonalty rose one and all, and encouraging each other, they left the city, and withdrew to the hill now called *Sacred*, near the river Anio, but without committing any violence or other act of sedition. Only as they went along, they loudly complained, "That it was now a great while since the rich had driven them from their habitations; that Italy would anywhere supply them with air and water, and a place of burial; and that Rome, if they stayed in it, would afford them no other privilege, unless it were such, to bleed and die in fighting for their wealthy oppressors."

The senate was then alarmed, and from the oldest men of their body selected the most moderate and popular to treat with the people. At the head of them was Menenius Agrippa, who after much entreaty addressed to them, and many arguments in defence of the senate, concluded his discourse with this celebrated fable:—"The members of the human body once mutinied against the belly, and accused it of lying idle and useless, while they were all labouring and toiling to satisfy its appetites; but the belly only laughed at their simplicity, who knew not that though it received all the nourishment into itself, it prepared and distributed it again to all parts of the body. Just so, my fellow citizens, said he, stands the case between the senate and you. For their necessary counsels, and acts of government, are productive of advantage to you all, and distribute their salutary influence amongst the whole people."

After this they were reconciled to the senate, having demanded and obtained the privilege of appointing five men,¹ to defend their rights on all occasions. *These are called tribunes of the people.* The first that were elected were Junius Brutus,² and Sicinius Vel-

¹ The tribunes were at first five in number; but a few years after five more were added. Before the people left the *Monts Sacre*, they passed a law by which the persons of the tribunes were made sacred. Their sole function was to interpose in all grievances offered the plebeians by their superiors. *This interposing was called intercessio, and was performed by standing up and pronouncing the single word Veto, I forbid it.* They had their seats placed

at the door of the senate, and were never admitted into it, but when the consuls called them to ask their opinion upon some affair that concerned the interests of the people.

² The name of this tribune was Lucius Junius, and because Lucius Junius Brutus was famed for delivering his country from the tyrannic yoke of the kings, he also assumed the surname of Brutus, which exposed him to a great deal of ridicule.

lutus, the leaders of the secession. When the breach was thus made up, the plebeians soon came to be enrolled as soldiers, and readily obeyed the orders of the consuls relative to the war. As for Marcius, though he was far from being pleased at the advantages which the people had gained, as it was a lessening of the authority of the patricians, and though he found a considerable part of the nobility of his opinion, yet he exhorted them not to be backward wherever the interest of their country was concerned, but to show themselves superior to the commonalty rather in virtue than in power.

Corioli was the capital of the country of the Volscians, with whom the Romans were at war. And as it was besieged by the consul Cominius, the rest of the Volscians were much alarmed; and assembled to succour it, intending to give the Romans battle under the walls, and to attack them on both sides. But after Cominius had divided his forces, and with part went to meet the Volscians without, who were marching against him, leaving Titus Lartius, an illustrious Roman, with the other part, to carry on the siege, the inhabitants of Corioli despised the body that were left, and sallied out to fight them. The Romans at first were obliged to give ground, and were driven to their entrenchments. But Marcius with a small party flew to their assistance, killed the foremost of the enemy, and stopping the rest in their career, with a loud voice called the Romans back. For he was (what Cato wanted a soldier to be) not only dreadful for the thunder of his arm, but of voice too, and had an aspect which struck his adversaries with terror and dismay. Many Romans then crowding about him, and being ready to second him, the enemy retired in confusion. Nor was he satisfied with making them retire; he pressed hard upon their rear, and pursued them quite up to the gates. There he perceived that his men discontinued the pursuit, by reason of the shower of arrows which fell from the walls, and that none of them had any thoughts of rushing along with the fugitives into the city, which was filled with warlike people, who were all under arms: nevertheless, he exhorted and encouraged them to press forward, crying out, "That fortune had opened the gates rather to the victors than to the vanquished." But as few were willing to follow him, he broke through the enemy, and pushed into the town with the crowd, no one at first daring to oppose him, or even to look him in the face. But when he cast his eyes around, and saw so small a number within the walls, whose services he could make use of in that dangerous enterprise, and that friends and foes were mixed together, he summoned all his force, and performed the most incredible exploits, whether you consider his heroic strength, his amazing agility, or his bold and daring spirit; for he overpowered all that were in his way, forcing some to seek refuge in the farthest corners of the town, and others to give out and throw down their arms; which afforded Lartius an opportunity to bring in the rest of the Romans unmolested.

The city thus taken, most of the soldiers fell to plundering, which

Marcus highly resented ; crying out, " That it was a shame for them to run about after plunder, or, under pretence of collecting the spoils, to get out of the way of danger, while the consul and the Romans under his command were, perhaps, engaged with the enemy." As there were not many that listened to what he said, he put himself at the head of such as offered to follow him, and took the route which he knew would lead him to the consul's army ; sometimes pressing his small party to hasten their march, and conjuring them not to suffer their ardour to cool, and sometimes begging of the gods that the battle might not be over before he arrived, but that he might have his share in the glorious toils and dangers of his countrymen.

It was customary with the Romans of that age, when they were drawn up in order of battle, and ready to take up their shields and gird their garments about them, to make a nuncupative will, naming each his heir, in the presence of three or four witnesses. While the soldiers were thus employed, and the enemy in sight, Marcus came up. Some were startled at his first appearance, covered as he was with blood and sweat. But when he ran cheerfully up to the consul, took him by the hand, and told him that Corioli was taken, the consul clasped him to his heart : and those who heard the news of that success, and those who did but guess at it, were greatly animated, and with shouts demanded to be led on to the combat. Marcus inquired of Cominius in what manner the enemy's army was drawn up, and where their best troops were posted. Being answered, that the Antiates who were placed in the centre, were supposed to be the bravest and most warlike, " I beg it of you, then," said Marcus, " as a favour, that you will place me directly opposite to them." And the consul, admiring his spirit, readily granted his request.

When the battle was begun with the throwing of spears, Marcus advanced before the rest, and charged the centre of the Volscians with so much fury that it was soon broken. Nevertheless, the wings attempted to surround him ; and the consul, alarmed for him, sent to his assistance a select band which he had near his own person. A sharp conflict then ensued about Marcus, and a great carnage was quickly made ; but the Romans pressed the enemy with so much vigour that they put them to flight. And when they were going upon the pursuit, they begged of Marcus, now almost weighed down with wounds and fatigue, to retire to the camp. But he answered, " That it was not for conquerors to be tired," and so joined them in prosecuting the victory. The whole army of the Volscians was defeated, great numbers killed, and many made prisoners.

Next day, Marcus waiting upon the consul, and the army being assembled, Cominius mounted the rostrum ; and having in the first place returned due thanks to the gods for such extraordinary success, addressed himself to Marcus. He began with a detail of his gallant actions, of which he had himself been partly an eye-witness, and which had partly been related to him by Lartius. Then out

of the great quantity of treasure, the many horses and prisoners they had taken, he ordered him to take a tenth, before any distribution was made to the rest, besides making him a present of a fine horse, with noble trappings, as a reward for his valour.

The army received this speech with great applause; and Marcius, stepping forward, said, "That he accepted of the horse, and was happy in the consul's approbation; but as for the rest, he considered it rather as a pecuniary reward than as a mark of honour, and, therefore, desired to be excused, being satisfied with his single share of the booty. One favour only in particular," continued he, "I desire, and beg I may be indulged in. I have a friend among the Volscians, bound with me in the sacred rites of hospitality, and a man of virtue and honour. He is now among the prisoners, and from easy and opulent circumstances reduced to servitude. Of the many misfortunes under which he labours, I should be glad to rescue him from one, which is that of being sold as a slave."

These words of Marcius were followed with still louder acclamations; his conquering the temptations of money being more admired than the valour he had exerted in battle. For even those who before regarded his superior honours with envy and jealousy, now thought him worthy of great things because he had greatly declined them, and were more struck with that virtue which led him to despise such extraordinary advantages, than with the merit which claimed them. Indeed, *the right use of riches is more commendable than that of arms; and not to desire them at all, more glorious than to use them well.*

When the acclamations were over, and the multitude silent again, Cominius subjoined, "You cannot, indeed, my fellow-soldiers, force these gifts of yours upon a person so firmly resolved to refuse them; let us then give him what it is not in his power to decline, let us pass a vote that he be called CORIOLANUS, if his gallant behaviour at Corioli has not already bestowed that name upon him." Hence came his third name of Coriolanus. By which it appears that Caius was the proper name; that the second name, Marcius, was that of the family; and that *the third Roman appellation was a peculiar note of distinction, given afterwards on account of some particular act of fortune, or signature, or virtue of him that bore it.* Thus among the Greeks additional names were given to some on account of their achievements, as *Soter, the preserver*, and *Callinicus, the victorious*; to others, for something remarkable in their persons, as *Physcon, the gore-bellied*, and *Gripus, the eagle-nosed*; or for their good qualities, as *Euergetes, the benefactor*, and *Philadelphus, the kind brother*; or their good fortune, as *Eudemon, the prosperous*, a name given to the second prince of the family of the Batti. Several princes also have had satirical names bestowed upon them: Antigonus (for instance) was called *Doson, the man that will give to-morrow*, and Ptolemy was styled *Lamyrras, the buffoon*. But appellations of this last sort were used with greater latitude among the Romans. One of the Metelli was distinguished by the name of *Diadematus*, because he went a long time with a

bandage, which covered an ulcer he had in his forehead; and another they called *Celer*, because with surprising celerity he entertained them with a funeral show of gladiators, a few days after his father's death. In our times, too, some of the Romans receive their names from the circumstances of their birth; as that of *Proculus*, if born when their fathers are in a distant country; and that of *Posthumus*, if born after their father's death; and when twins come into the world, and one of them dies at the birth, the survivor is called *Vopiscus*. Names are also appropriated on account of bodily imperfections; for amongst them we find not only *Sylla, the red*, and *Niger, the black*; but even *Cacus, the blind*, and *Claudius, the lame*; such persons by this custom being wisely taught not to consider blindness or any other bodily misfortune as a reproach or disgrace, but to answer to appellations of that kind as their proper names.

When the war was over, the demagogues stirred up another sedition. And as there was no new cause of disquiet or injury done the people, they made use of the mischiefs which were the necessary consequence of the former troubles and dissensions, as a handle against the patricians. For the greatest part of the ground being left uncultivated and unsown, and the war not permitting them to bring in bread-corn from other countries, there was an extreme scarcity in Rome.¹ The factious orators then seeing that corn was not brought to market, and that if the market could be supplied, the commonalty had but little money to buy with, slanderously asserted that the rich had caused the famine out of a spirit of revenge.

At this juncture there arrived ambassadors from the people of Velitræ, who offered to surrender their city to the Romans, and desired to have a number of new inhabitants to replenish it; a pestilential distemper having committed such ravages there, that scarcely the tenth part of the inhabitants remained. The sensible part of the Romans thought this pressing necessity of Velitræ a seasonable and advantageous thing for Rome, as it would lessen the scarcity of provisions. They hoped, moreover, that the sedition would subside, if the city were purged of the troublesome part of the people, who most readily took fire at the harangues of their orators, and who were as dangerous to the state as so many superfluous and morbid humours are to the body. Such as these, therefore, the consuls singled out for the colony, and pitched upon others to serve in the war against the Volscians, contriving it so that employment abroad might still the intestine tumults, and believing that, when rich and poor, plebeians and patricians, came to bear arms together again, to be in the same camp, and to meet the same dangers, they would be disposed to treat each other with more gentleness and candour.

¹ The people withdrew to the sacred mount soon after the autumnal equinox, and the reconciliation with the patricians did not take place until the winter sol-

stice, so that the seed-time was lost. And the Roman factors, who were sent to buy corn in other countries, were very unsuccessful.

But the restless tribunes, Sicinius and Brutus, opposed both these designs, crying out, that the consuls disguised a most inhuman act under the plausible term of a colony; for inhuman it certainly was to throw the poor citizens into a devouring gulf, by sending them to a place where the air was infected, and where noisome carcasses lay above ground, where also they would be at the disposal of a strange and cruel deity. And as if it were not sufficient to destroy some by famine, and expose others to the plague, they involved them also into a needless war, that no kind of calamity might be wanting to complete the ruin of the city, because it refused to continue in slavery to the rich.

The people, irritated by these speeches, neither obeyed the summons to be enlisted for the war, nor could be brought to approve the order to go and people Velitræ. While the senate were in doubt what step they should take, Marcius, now not a little elated by the honours he had received, by the sense of his own great abilities, and by the deference that was paid him by the principal persons in the state, stood foremost in opposition to the tribunes. The colony, therefore, was sent out, heavy fines being set upon such as refused to go. But as they declared absolutely against serving in the war, Marcius mustered up his own clients, and as many volunteers as he could procure, and with these made an in-road into the territories of the *Antistates*. There he found plenty of corn, and a great number of cattle and slaves, no part of which he reserved to himself, but led his troops back to Rome, loaded with the rich booty. The rest of the citizens then repenting of their obstinacy, and envying those who had got such a quantity of provisions, looked upon Marcius with an evil eye, not being able to endure the increase of his power and honour, which they considered as rising on the ruins of the people.

Soon after,¹ Marcius stood for the consulship; on which occasion the commonalty began to relent, being sensible what a shame it would be to reject and affront a man of his family and virtue, and that, too, after he had done so many signal services to the public. *It was the custom for those who were candidates for the consulship to solicit and caress the people in the forum, and, at those times, to be clad in a loose gown without the tunic; whether that humble dress was thought more suitable for suppliants, or whether it was for the convenience of showing their wounds, as so many tokens of valour.* For it was not from any suspicion the citizens then had of bribery that they required the candidates to appear before them ungirt and without any close garment, when they came to beg their votes; since it was much later than this, and indeed many ages after, that buying and selling stole in, and money came to be a means of gaining an election. Then corruption reaching also the tribunals and the camps, arms were subverted by money, and the commonwealth was changed into a monarchy. It was a shrewd saying, whoever said it, "*That the man who first ruined the Roman*

¹ It was the next year, being the third of Olympiad 72, 228 B.C.

people was he who first gave them treats and gratuities." But this mischief crept secretly and gradually in, and did not show its face in Rome for a considerable time. For we know not who it was that first bribed its citizens or its judges; but it is said that, in Athens, the first man who corrupted a tribunal was Anytas, the son of Anthymion, when he was tried for treason in delivering up the fort of Pylos, at the latter end of the Peloponnesian war; a time when the golden age reigned in the Roman courts in all its simplicity.

When, therefore, Marcius showed the wounds and scars he had received in the many glorious battles he had fought for 17 years successively, the people were struck with reverence for his virtue, and agreed to choose him consul. But when the day of election came, and he was conducted with great pomp into the *Campus Marcius* by the senate in a body, all the patricians acting with more zeal and vigour than ever had been known on the like occasion; the commons then altered their minds, and their kindness was turned into envy and indignation. The malignity of these passions was farther assisted by the fear they entertained, that if a man so strongly attached to the interests of the senate, and so much respected by the nobility, should attain the consulship, he might utterly deprive the people of their liberty. Influenced by these considerations, they rejected Marcius, and appointed others to that office. The senate took this extremely ill, considering it as an affront rather intended against them than against Marcius. As for Marcius, he resented that treatment highly, indulging his irascible passions upon a supposition, that they have something great and exalted in them; and wanting a due mixture of gravity and mildness, which are the chief political virtues, and the fruits of reason and education. He did not consider that the man who applies himself to public business, and undertakes to converse with men, should, above all things, avoid that *overbearing austerity*, which (as *Plato* says) is always the companion of solitude, and cultivate in his heart the patience which some people so much deride. Marcius, then, being plain and artless, but rigid and inflexible withal, was persuaded that to vanquish opposition was the highest attainment of a gallant spirit. He never dreamed that such obstinacy is rather the effect of the weakness and effeminacy of a distempered mind, which breaks out in violent passions, like so many tumours; and, therefore, he went away in great disorder, and full of rancour against the people. Such of the young nobility as were most distinguished by the pride of birth and greatness of spirit who had always been wonderfully taken with Marcius, and then unluckily happened to attend him, inflamed his resentment, by expressing their own grief and indignation. For he was their leader in every expedition, and their instructor in the art of war: he it was who inspired them with a truly virtuous emulation, and taught them to rejoice in their own success, without envying the exploits of others.

In the meantime, a great quantity of bread-corn was brought to Rome, being partly bought up in Italy, and partly a present from Gelon, king of Syracuse. The aspect of affairs appeared now to be

encouraging; and it was hoped that the intestine broils would cease with the scarcity. The senate, therefore, being immediately assembled, the people stood in crowds without, waiting for the issue of their deliberations. They expected that the market-rates for the corn that was bought would be moderate, and that a distribution of that which was a gift would be made *gratis*; for there was some who proposed that the senate should dispose of it in that manner. But Marcius stood up and severely censured those that spoke in favour of the commonalty, calling them demagogues and traitors to the nobility. He said, "They nourished to their own great prejudice the pernicious seeds of boldness and petulance, which had been sown among the populace, when they should rather have nipped them in the bud, and not have suffered the plebeians to strengthen themselves with the tribunitial power. That the people were now become formidable, gaining whatever point they pleased, and not doing any one thing against their inclination; so that living in a sort of anarchy they would no longer obey the consuls, nor acknowledge any superiors but those whom they called their own magistrates. That the senators who advised that distributions should be made in the manner of the Greeks, whose government was entirely democratical, were effecting the ruin of the constitution, by encouraging the insolence of the rabble. For that they would not suppose they received such favours for the campaign which they had refused to make, or for the secessions by which they had deserted their country, or for the calumnies which they had countenanced against the senate; but they will think that we yield to them through fear, and grant them such indulgences by way of flattery; and as they will expect to find us always so complaisant, there will be no end to their disobedience, no period to their turbulent and seditious practices. It would, therefore, be perfect madness to take such a step. Nay, if we are wise, we shall entirely abolish the tribunes' office,¹ which has made ciphers of the consuls, and divided the city in such a manner, that it is no longer one as formerly, but broken into two parts, which will never knit again, or cease to vex and harass each other with all the evils of discord."²

Marcius, haranguing to this purpose, inspired the young senators and almost all the men of fortune with his own enthusiasm; and they cried out that he was the only man in Rome who had a spirit above the meanness of flattery and submission; yet some of the aged senators foresaw the consequence, and opposed his measures. In fact, the issue was unfortunate. For the tribunes who were present, when they saw that Marcius would have a majority of voices, ran out to the people, loudly calling upon them to stand by their own magistrates and give their best assistance. An assembly

¹ The tribunes had lately procured a law, which made it penal to interrupt them when they were speaking to the people.

² Pincarch has omitted the most aggra-

vating passage in Coriolanus's speech, wherein he proposed the holding up the price of bread-corn as high as ever, to keep the people in dependence and subjection.

then was held in a tumultuary manner, in which the speeches of Marcius were recited, and the plebeians in their fury had thoughts of breaking in upon the senate. The tribunes pointed their rage against Marcius in particular, by impeaching him in form, and sent for him to make his defence. But as he spurned the messengers, they went themselves, attended by the ædiles, to bring him by force, and began to lay hands on him. Upon this the patricians stood up for him, drove off the tribunes, and beat the ædiles; till night coming on broke off the quarrel. Early next morning, the consuls observing that the people, now extremely incensed, flocked from all quarters into the *forum*; and dreading what might be the consequence to the city, hastily convened the senate, and moved, "That they should consider how, with kind words and favourable resolutions, they might bring the commons to temper; for that this was not a time to display their ambition, nor would it be prudent to pursue disputes about the point of honour at a critical and dangerous juncture, which required the greatest moderation and delicacy of conduct." As the majority agreed to the motion they went out to confer with the people, and used their best endeavours to pacify them, coolly refuting calumnies, and modestly, though not without some degree of sharpness, complaining of their behaviour. As to the price of bread-corn and other provisions, they declared there should be no difference between them.

Great part of the people were moved with this application, and it clearly appeared, by their candid attention, that they were ready to close with it. Then the tribunes stood up and said, "That since the senate acted with such moderation, the people were not unwilling to make concessions in their turn; but they insisted that Marcius should come and answer to these articles: *Whether he had not stirred up the senate to the confounding of all government, and to the destroying of the people's privileges? Whether he had not refused to obey their summons? Whether he had not beaten and otherwise maltreated the ædiles in the forum; and by these means (so far as in him lay) levied war, and brought the citizens to sheath their swords in each other's bosom?* These things they said with a design, either to humble Marcius, by making him submit to entreat the people's clemency, which was much against his haughty temper; or, if he followed his native bent, to draw him to make the breach incurable. The latter they were in hopes of, and the rather because they knew the man well. He stood as if he would have made his defence, and the people waited in silence for what he had to say. But when, instead of the submissive language that was expected, he began with an aggravating boldness, and rather accused the commons, than defended himself; when with the tone of his voice and the fierceness of his looks, he expressed an intrepidity bordering upon insolence and contempt, they lost all patience; and Sicinius, the boldest of the tribunes, after a short consultation with his colleagues, pronounced openly, that the tribunes condemned Marcius to die. He then ordered the ædiles to take him immediately up to the top of the Tarpeian rock, and

three tribes, and the penalty to be inflicted upon him was perpetual banishment.

After the sentence was pronounced, the people were more elated, and went off in greater transports than they ever did on account of a victory in the field; the senate, on the other hand, were in the greatest distress, and repented that they had not run the last risk, rather than suffer the people to possess themselves of so much power, and use it in so insolent a manner. There was no need then to look upon their dress, or any other mark of distinction, to know which was a plebeian and which a patrician; the man that exulted, was a plebeian: and the man that was dejected, a patrician.

Marcivs alone was unmoved and unblinded. Still lofty in his port and firm in his countenance, he appeared not to be sorry for himself, and to be the only one of the nobility that was not. This air of fortitude was not, however, the effect of reason or moderation, but the man was buoyed up by anger and indignation. And this, though the vulgar know it not, has its rise from grief, which when it catches flame is turned to anger, and then bids adieu to all feebleness and dejection. Hence, the angry man is courageous, just as he who has a fever is hot, the mind being upon the stretch and in a violent agitation. His subsequent behaviour soon showed that he was thus affected. For having returned to his own house, and embraced his mother and his wife, who lamented their fate with the weakness of women, he exhorted them to bear it with patience, and then hastened to one of the city gates, being conducted by the patricians in a body. Thus he quitted Rome, without asking or receiving aught at any man's hand; and took with him only three or four clients. He spent a few days in a solitary manner at some of his farms near the city, agitated with a thousand different thoughts, such as his anger suggested; in which he did not propose any advantage to himself, but considered only how he might satisfy his revenge against the Romans. At last he determined to spirit up a cruel war against them from some neighbouring nation; and for this purpose to apply first to the Volscians, whom he knew to be yet strong both in men and money, and whom he supposed to be rather exasperated and provoked to farther conflicts, than absolutely subdued.

There was then a person at Antium, Tullus Aufidius by name,¹ highly distinguished among the Volscians, by his wealth, his valour, and noble birth. Marcivs was very sensible that, of all the Romans, himself was the man whom Tullus most hated. For, excited by ambition and emulation, as young warriors usually are, they had in several engagements encountered each other with menaces, and bold defiance, and thus had added personal enmity to the hatred which reigned between the two nations. But notwithstanding all this, considering the great generosity of Tullus, and knowing that

¹ Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus call him Tullus Aufidius; and with them an anonymous Ab. agrees. *Aufidius*,

however, which is very near the Bodleian reading, has a Latin sound, and probably was what Plutarch meant to write.

he was more desirous than any of the Volscians of an opportunity to return upon the Romans part of the evils his country had suffered, he took a method which strongly confirms that saying of the poet,

Stern wrath, how strong thy way! though life's the forfeit,
Thy purpose must be gain'd.

For, putting himself in such clothes and habiliments as were most likely to prevent his being known, like Ulysses,

He stole into the hostile town.

It was evening when he entered, and though many people met him in the streets, not one of them knew him. He passed therefore on to the house of Tullus, where he got in undiscovered, and having directly made up to the fire-place,¹ he seated himself without saying a word, covering his face, and remaining in a composed posture. The people of the house were very much surprised; yet they did not venture to disturb him, for there was something of dignity both in his person and his silence; but they went and related the strange adventure to Tullus, who was then at supper. Tullus, upon this rose from table, and coming to Coriolanus, asked him *If he he was, and upon what business he was come?* Coriolanus, uncovering his face, paused awhile, and then thus addressed him: "If thou dost not yet know me, Tullus, but distrustest thine own eyes, I must of necessity be mine own accuser. I am Caius Marcius, who have brought so many calamities upon the Volscians, and bear the additional name of Coriolanus, which will not suffer me to deny that imputation, were I disposed to it. For all the labours and dangers I have undergone, I have no other reward left but that appellation, which distinguishes my enmity to your nation, and which cannot indeed be taken from me. Of everything else I am deprived by the envy and outrage of the people, on the one hand, and the cowardice and treachery of the magistrates and those of mine own order, on the other. Thus driven out an exile, I am come a suppliant to thy household gods; not for shelter and protection, for why should I come hither, if I were afraid of death? but for vengeance against those who have expelled me, which methinks, I begin to take, by putting myself into thy hands. If, therefore, thou art disposed to attack the enemy, come on, brave Tullus, avail thyself of my misfortunes; let my personal distress be the common happiness of the Volscians. You may be assured, I shall fight much better for you than I have fought against you, because they who know perfectly the state of the enemy's affairs are much more capable of annoying them than such as do not know them. But if thou hast given up all thoughts of war, I neither desire to live, nor is it fit for thee to preserve a person who of old has been thine enemy, and now is not able to do thee any sort of service."

Tullus, delighted with this address, gave him his hand, and "Rise," said he, "Marcius, and take courage. The present you

¹ The fire-place, having the domestic gods in it, was esteemed sacred; and there-

fore all suppliants resorted to it, as to an asylum.

thus make of yourself is inestimable; and you may assure yourself that the Volscians will not be ungrateful." Then he entertained him at his table with great kindness; and the next and the following days they consulted together about the war.

Rome was then in great confusion, by reason of the animosity of the nobility against the commons, which was considerably heightened by the late condemnation of Marcius. Many prodigies were also announced by private persons, as well as by the priests and diviners, one of which was as follows: Titus Latinus, a man of no high rank, but of great modesty and candour, not addicted to superstition, much less to vain pretences to what is extraordinary, had this dream. Jupiter, he thought, appeared to him, and ordered him to tell the senate, *That they had provided him a very bad and ill-favoured leader of the dance in the sacred procession.* When he had seen this vision, he said, he paid but little regard to it at first. It was presented a second and a third time, and he neglected it; whereupon he had the unhappiness to see his son sicken and die, and he himself was suddenly struck in such a manner as to lose the use of his limbs. These particulars he related in the senate-house, being carried on his couch for that purpose. And he had no sooner made an end than he perceived, as they tell us, his strength return, and rose up and walked home without help.

The senate were much surprised, and made a strict inquiry into the affair; the result of which was, that a certain householder had delivered up one of his slaves, who had been guilty of some offence, to his other servants, with an order to whip him through the market-place, and then put him to death. While they were executing this order, and scourging the wretch, who writhed himself, through the violence of pain, into various postures,¹ the procession happened to come up. Many of the people that composed it were fired with indignation, for the sight was excessively disagreeable and shocking to humanity; yet nobody gave him the least assistance; only curses and execrations were vented against the man who punished with so much cruelty. For in those times *they treated their slaves with great moderation, and this was natural, because they worked and even ate with them.* It was deemed a great punishment for a slave who had committed a fault to take up that piece of wood with which they supported the till of a waggon, and carry it round the neighbourhood. For he that was thus exposed to the derision of the family and other inhabitants of the place, entirely lost his credit, and was styled *Furcifer*; the Romans calling that piece of timber *furca* which the Greeks call *hypostates*, that is, a *supporter*.

When Latinus had given the senate an account of his dream, and they doubted *who this ill-favoured and bad leader of the dance might be*, the excessive severity of the punishment put some of them in mind of the slave who was whipped through the market-

¹ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the master had given orders that the slave should be punished at the head of the procession, to make the ignominy the more

notorious; which was a still greater affront to the deity in whose honour the procession was led up.

place, and afterwards put to death. All the priests agreeing that he must be the person meant, his master had a heavy fine laid upon him, and the procession and games were exhibited anew in honour of Jupiter. Hence it appears that Numa's religious institutions in general are very wise, and that this in particular is highly conducive to the purposes of piety, namely, that when the magistrates or priests are employed in any sacred ceremony, a herald goes before, and proclaims aloud, *Hoc age, i.e., be attentive to this*; hereby commanding everybody to regard the solemn acts of religion, and not to suffer any business or avocation to intervene and disturb them; as well knowing that men's attention, especially in what concerns the worship of the gods, is seldom fixed but by a sort of violence and constraint.

But it is not only in so important a case that the Romans begin anew their sacrifices, their processions, and games: they do it for very small matters. If one of the horses that draws the chariots called *Tensa*, in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it. Such reverence have the Romans paid to the Supreme Being.

Meantime Marcius and Tullus held secret conferences with the principal Volscians, in which they exhorted them to begin the war, while Rome was torn in pieces with factious disputes; but a sense of honour restrained some of them from breaking the truce which was concluded for two years. The Romans, however, furnished them with a pretence for it, having, through some suspicion or false suggestion, caused proclamation to be made at one of the public shows or games, that all the Volscians should quit the town before sunset. Some say it was a stratagem contrived by Marcius, who suborned a person to go to the consuls, and accuse the Volscians of a design to attack the Romans during the games, and to set fire to the city. This proclamation exasperated the whole Volscian nation against the Romans; and Tullus, greatly aggravating the affront,¹ at last persuaded them to send to Rome to demand that the lands and cities which had been taken from them in the war should be restored. The senate having heard what the ambassadors had to say, answered with indignation, "that the Volscians might be the first to take up arms, but the Romans would be the last to lay them down." Hereupon, Tullus summoned a general assembly of his countrymen, whom he advised to send for Marcius, and forgetting all past injuries, to rest satisfied that the service he would do them, now their ally, would greatly exceed all the damage they had received from him, while their enemy.

1 "We alone," said he, "of all the different nations now in Rome, are not thought worthy to see the games. We alone, like the profane wretch and out-

laws, are driven from a public festival. Go and tell in all your cities and villages the distinguishing mark the Romans have put upon us."

Marcus accordingly was called in, and made an oration to the people; who found that he knew how to speak as well as to fight, and that he excelled in capacity as well as courage, and therefore they joined him in commission with Tullus. As he was afraid that the Volscians would spend much time in preparations, and so lose a favourable opportunity for action, he left it to the magistrates and other principal persons in Antium to provide troops and whatever else was necessary, while he, without making any set levies, took a number of volunteers, and with them overran the Roman territories before anybody in Rome could expect it. There he made so much booty that the Volscians found it difficult to carry it off, and consume it in the camp. But the great quantity of provisions he collected, and the damage he did the enemy by committing such spoils, was the least part of the service in this expedition. The great point he had in view in the whole matter, was to increase the people's suspicions of the nobility. For, while he ravaged the whole country, he was very attentive to spare the lands of the patricians, and to see that nothing should be carried off from them. Hence, the ill opinion the two parties had of each other; and consequently the troubles grew greater than ever; the patricians accusing the plebeians of unjustly driving out one of the bravest men in Rome, and the plebeians reproaching *them* with bringing Marcus upon them, to indulge their revenge, and with sitting secure spectators of what others suffered by the war, while the war itself was a guard to their lands and subsistence. Marcus having thus effected his purpose, and inspired the Volscians with courage, not only to meet, but even to despise the enemy, drew off his party without being molested.

The Volscian forces assembled with great expedition and alacrity; and they appeared so considerable that it was thought proper to leave part to garrison their towns, while the rest marched against the Romans. Coriolanus leaving it in the option of Tullus which corps he would command, Tullus observed, that as his colleague was not at all inferior to himself in valour, and had hitherto fought with better success, he thought it most advisable for *him* to lead the army into the field, while himself stayed behind to provide for the defence of the towns, and to supply the troops that made the campaign with everything necessary.¹

Marcus, strengthened still more by this division of the command, marched first against Circeii,² a Roman colony; and as it surrendered without resistance, he would not suffer it to be plundered. After this he laid waste the territories of the Latins, expecting that the Romans would hazard a battle for the Latins, who were their

¹ It would have been very imprudent in Tullus to have left Coriolanus, who had been an enemy, and now might possibly be only a pretended friend, at the head of an army in the bowels of his country while he was marching at the head of another against Rome.

² For the right terminations of this, and

other towns soon after mentioned, see Livy, book ii. c. 39. Plutarch calls the town *Circium*. His error is much greater, when a little below he writes *Cloelia* instead of *Tullia*. Sometimes too, the former translator makes a mistake where Plutarch had made none.

allies, and by frequent messengers called upon them for assistance. But the commons of Rome showed no alacrity in the affair, and the consuls, whose office was almost expired, were not willing to run such a risk, and therefore rejected the request of the Latins. Marcius then turned his arms against Tolerium, Labici, Pedom, and Bola, cities of Latium, which he took by assault; and because they made resistance, sold the inhabitants as slaves, and plundered their houses. At the same time he took particular care of such as voluntarily came over to him; and that they might not sustain any damage against his will, he always encamped at the greatest distance he could, and would not even touch upon their lands, if he could avoid it.

Afterwards he took Bollæ, which is little more than twelve miles from Rome, where he put to the sword almost all that were of age to bear arms, and got much plunder. The rest of the Volscians, who were left as a safeguard to the towns, had not patience to remain at home any longer, but ran with their weapons in their hands to Marcius, declaring that they knew no other leader or general but him. His name and his valour were renowned through Italy. All were astonished that one man's changing sides could make so prodigious an alteration in affairs.

Nevertheless, there was nothing but disorder at Rome. The Romans refused to fight, and passed their time in cabals, seditious speeches, and mutual complaints; until news was brought that Coriolanus had laid siege to Lavinium, where the holy symbols of the gods of their fathers were placed, and from whence they derived their original, that being the first city which Æneas built. A wonderful and universal change of opinion then appeared among the people, and a very strange and absurd one among the patricians. The people were desirous to annul the sentence against Marcius, and to recall him to Rome, but the senate being assembled to deliberate on that point, finally rejected the proposition; either out of a perverse humour of opposing whatever measure the people espoused, or perhaps unwilling that Coriolanus should owe his return to the favour of the people; or else having conceived some resentment against him for harassing and distressing all the Romans, when he had been injured only by a part, and for showing himself an enemy to his country, in which he knew the most respectable body had both sympathised with him and shared in his ill-treatment: this resolution being announced to the commons,¹ it was not in their power to proceed to vote or to pass a bill: for a previous decree of the senate was necessary.

At this news, Coriolanus was still more exasperated; so that, quitting the siege of Lavinium,² he marched with great fury towards

¹ Perhaps the senate now refused to comply with the demands of the people, either to clear themselves from the suspicion of maintaining a correspondence with Coriolanus, or possibly out of that magnanimity

which made the Romans averse to peace, when they were attended with bad success in war.

² He left a body of troops to continue the blockade.

Rome, and encamped only five miles from it, at the *Fossa Cluilia*. The sight of him caused great terror and confusion, but for the present it appeased the sedition ; for neither magistrate nor senator durst any longer oppose the people's desire to recall him. When they saw the women running up and down the streets, and the supplications and tears of the aged men at the altars of the gods, when all courage and spirit were gone, and salutary councils were no more ; then they acknowledged that the people were right in endeavouring to be reconciled to Coriolanus, and that the senate were under a great mistake, in beginning to indulge the passions of anger and revenge at a time when they should have renounced them. All, therefore, agreed to send ambassadors to Coriolanus to offer him liberty to return, and to entreat him to put an end to the war. Those that went on the part of the senate being all either relations or friends of Coriolanus, expected at the first interview much kindness from a man who was thus connected with them. But it happened quite otherwise : for, being conducted through the Volscian ranks, they found him seated in council, with a number of great officers, and with an insufferable appearance of pomp and severity. He bade them then declare their business, which they did in a very modest and humble manner, as became the state of their affairs.

When they had made an end of speaking, he answered them with much bitterness and high resentment of the injuries done him ; and, as general of the Volscians, he insisted " That the Romans should restore all the cities and lands which they had taken in the former wars ; and that they should grant by decree the freedom of the city to the Volscians, as they had done to the Latins ; for that no lasting peace could be made between the two nations, but upon these just and equal conditions." He gave them thirty days to consider of them ; and having dismissed the ambassadors, he immediately retired from the Roman territories.

Several among the Volscians, who for a long time had envied his reputation, and had been uneasy at the interest he had with the people, availed themselves of this circumstance to calumniate and reproach him. Tullus himself was of the number. Not that he had received any particular injury from Coriolanus ; but he was led away by a passion too natural to man. It gave him pain to find his own glory obscured, and himself entirely neglected by the Volscians, who looked upon Coriolanus as their supreme head, and thought that others might well be satisfied with that portion of power and authority which he thought proper to allow them. Hence, secret hints were first given, and in their private cabals, his enemies expressed their dissatisfaction, giving the name of treason to his retreat. For though he had not betrayed their cities or armies, yet they said he had traitorously given up time, by which these and all other things are both won and lost. He had allowed them a respite of no less than thirty days, knowing their affairs to be so embarrassed, that they wanted such a space to re-establish them.

Coriolanus, however, did not spend those thirty days idly. He

harassed the enemy's allies,¹ laid waste their lands, and took seven great and popular cities in that interval. The Romans did not venture to send them any succours. They were as spiritless, and as little disposed to the war, as if their bodies had been relaxed and benumbed with the palsy.

When the term was expired, and Coriolanus returned with all his forces, they sent a second embassy, "To entreat him to lay aside his resentment, to draw off the Volscians from their territories, and then to proceed as should seem most conducive to the advantage of both nations. For that the Romans would not give up anything through fear; but if he thought it reasonable that the Volscians should be indulged in some particular points, they would be duly considered if they laid down their arms." Coriolanus replied, "That as general of the Volscians, he would give them no answer; but as one who was yet a citizen of Rome, he would advise and exhort them to entertain humble thoughts, and to come within three days with a ratification of the just conditions he had proposed. At the same time he assured them that, if their resolutions should be of a different nature, it would not be safe for them to come any more into his camp with empty words."

The senate, having received the report of the ambassadors, considered the commonwealth as ready to sink in the waves of a dreadful tempest, and therefore cast the last, the *sacred anchor*, as it is called. They ordered all the priests of the gods, the ministers and guardians of the mysteries, and all that, by the ancient usage of their country, practised divination by the flight of birds, to go to Coriolanus, in their robes, with the ensigns which they bear in the duties of their office, and exert their utmost endeavours to persuade him to desist from the war, and then to treat with his countrymen of articles of peace for the Volscians. When they came, he did indeed vouchsafe to admit them into the camp, but showed them no other favour, nor gave them a milder answer than the others had received; he bade them, in short, "either accept the former proposals, or prepare for war."

When the priests returned, the Romans resolved to keep close within the city, and to defend the walls; intending only to repulse the enemy, should he attack them, and placing their chief hopes on the accidents of time and fortune; for they knew of no resource within themselves; the city was full of trouble and confusion, terror, and unhappy presages. At last, something happened similar to what is often mentioned by Homer, but which men in general are little inclined to believe. For when, on occasion of any great and uncommon event, he says,

Pallas inspired that counsel;

and again,

But some immortal power who rules the mind changed their resolves;

¹ By this he prevented the allies of the Romans from assisting them, and guarded against the charge of treachery, which

some of the Volscians were ready to bring against him

and elsewhere,

The thought spontaneous rising or by some god inspired ———

They despise the poet, as if, for the sake of absurd notions and incredible fables, he endeavoured to take away our liberty of will. A thing which Homer never dreamed of, for whatever happens in the ordinary course of things and is the effect of reason and of moderation, he often ascribes to our own power,

——— My own great mind I then consulted

In another place,

Achilles heard with grief, and his own thoughts perplex'd his mighty mind

Once more,

- But she in vain tempted Bellerophon
The noble youth with Wisdom's shield was arm'd

And in extraordinary and wonderful actions, which require some supernatural impulse and enthusiastic movement, he never introduces the Deity as depriving man of freedom of will, but as moving the will. He does not represent the heavenly Power as producing the resolution, but ideas which lead to the resolution. The act, therefore, is by no means involuntary, since occasion only is given to free operations, and confidence and good hope are superadded. For either the Supreme Being must be excluded from all causality and influence upon our actions, or it must be confessed that this is the only way in which he assists men and co-operates with them, since it is not to be supposed that he fashions our corporeal organs, or directs the motions of our hands and feet to the purposes he designs, but that by certain motives and ideas which he suggests, he either excites the active powers of the will, or else restrains them.¹

The Roman women were then dispersed in the several temples, but the greatest part and the most illustrious of the matrons made their supplications at the altar of Jupiter Capitolinus. Among the last was Valeria, the sister of the great Publicola, a person who had done the Romans the most considerable services both in peace and war. Publicola died some time before, but Valeria still lived in the greatest esteem, for her life did honour to her high birth. This woman discerning, by some divine impulse, what would be the best expedient, rose and called upon the other matrons to attend her to the house of Volumnia,² the mother of Coriolanus. When she entered, and found her sitting with her daughter in law, and with the children of Coriolanus on her lap, she approached her with her female companions, and spoke to this effect: "We address ourselves to you, Volumnia and Virgilia, as women to women, without

¹ I think represents the Divine assistance as a moral influence prevailing (if it does prevail) by rational motives. And the best Christian divines describe it in the same manner.

² Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy call his mother Vesturia, and his wife Volumnia.

any decree of the senate or order of the consuls. But our god, we believe, lending a merciful ear to our prayers, put it in our minds to apply to you, and to entreat you to do a thing that will not only be salutary to us and the other citizens, but more glorious for you, if you hearken to us, than the reducing their fathers and husbands from mortal enmity to peace and friendship was to the daughters of the Sabines. Come, then, go along with us to Coriolanus; join your instances to ours; and give a true and honourable testimony to your country, that though she has received the greatest injuries from him, yet she has neither done nor resolved upon anything against you in her anger, but restores you safe into his hands, though perhaps she may not obtain any better terms to herself on that account.

When Valeria had thus spoken, the rest of the women joined her request. Volumnia gave them this answer: "*Besides the share which we have in the general calamity, we are, my friends, in particular very unhappy, since Marcius is lost to us, his glory obscured, and his virtue gone; since we behold him surrounded by the arms of the enemies of his country, not as their prisoner, but their commander.* But it is still a greater misfortune to us, if our country is become so weak as to have need to repose her hopes upon us. For I know not whether he will have any regard for us, since he has had none for his country, which he used to prefer to his mother, to his wife, and children. Take us, however, and make what use of us you please. Lead us to him. If we can do nothing else, we can expire at his feet in supplicating for Rome."

She then took the children and Virgilia with her,¹ and went with the other matrons to the Volscian camp. The sight of them produced, even in the enemy, compassion and a reverential silence. Coriolanus, who then happened to be seated upon the tribunal with his principal officers, seeing the women approach, was greatly agitated and surprised. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to retain his wonted sternness and inexorable temper, though he perceived that his wife was at the head of them. But, unable to resist the emotions of affection, he could not suffer them to address him as he sat. He descended from the tribunal and ran to meet them. First he embraced his mother for a considerable time, and afterwards his wife and children, neither refraining from tears nor any other instance of natural tenderness.

When he had sufficiently indulged his passion, and perceived that his mother wanted to speak, he called the Volscian counsellors to him, and Volumnia expressed herself to this purpose: "You see, my son, by our attire and miserable looks, and therefore I may spare myself the trouble of declaring, to what condition your banishment has reduced us. Think with yourself whether we are not the most unhappy of women, when fortune has changed the

¹ Valeria first gave advice of this design to the consuls, who proposed it in the senate, where, after long debates, it was approved of by the fathers. Then Veturia,

and the most illustrious of the Roman matrons, in chariots which the consuls had ordered to be got ready for them, took their way to the enemy's camp.

spectacle that should have been the most pleasing in the world into the most dreadful ; when Volumnia beholds her son, and Virgilia her husband, encamped in a hostile manner before the walls of his native city. And what to others is the greatest consolation under misfortune and adversity, I mean prayer to the gods, to us is rendered impracticable ; for we cannot at the same time beg victory for our country and your preservation¹, but what our worst enemies would imprecate on us a curse, must of necessity be interwoven with our prayers. Your wife and children must either see their country perish, or you. As to my own part, I will not live to see this war decided by fortune. If I cannot persuade you to prefer friendship and union to enmity and its ruinous consequences, and so to become a benefactor to both sides, rather than the destruction of one, you must take this along with you, and prepare to expect it, that *you shall not advance against your country, without trampling upon the dead body of her that bore you*. For it does not become me to wait for that day, when my son shall be either led captive by his fellow-citizens, or triumph over Rome. If, indeed, I desired you to save your country by ruining the Volscians, I confess the case would be hard, and the choice difficult ; for it would neither be honourable to destroy your countrymen, nor just to betray those who have placed their confidence in you. But what do we desire of you more than deliverance from our own calamities ? A deliverance which will be equally salutary to both parties,² but most to the honour of the Volscians, since it will appear that their superiority empowered them to grant us the greatest of blessings, peace, and friendship, while they themselves receive the same. If these take place, you will be acknowledged to be the principal cause of them ; if they do not, you alone must expect to bear the blame from both nations. And though the chance of war is uncertain, yet it will be the certain event of this, that if you conquer, you will be a destroying demon to your country ; if you are beaten, it will be clear that, by indulging your resentment, you have plunged your friends and benefactors in the greatest of misfortunes."

Coriolanus listened to his mother while she went on with her speech without saying the least word to her ; and Volumnia, seeing him stand a long time mute after she had left speaking, proceeded again in this manner : "Why are you silent, my son ? Is it an honour to yield everything to anger and resentment, and would it be a disgrace to yield to your mother in so important a petition ? Or does it become a great man to remember the injuries done him, and would it not equally become a great and good man with the highest regard and reverence to keep in mind the benefits he has received from his parents ? Surely you, of all men, should take care to be grateful, who have suffered so extremely by ingratitude. And yet, though you have already severely punished your country, you have not made your mother the least return for her kindness.

¹ She begged a truce for a year, that in that time measures might be taken for settling a solid and lasting peace.

The most sacred ties both of nature and religion, without any other constraint, require that you should indulge me in this just and reasonable request ; but if words cannot prevail, this only resource is left." When she had said this, she threw herself at his feet, together with his wife and children ; upon which Coriolanus crying out, "O mother ! what is it you have done ?" raised her from the ground, and tenderly pressing her hand, continued, "You have gained a victory fortunate for your country, but ruinous to me.¹ I go, vanquished by you alone." Then, after a short conference with his mother and wife in private, he sent them back to Rome, agreeably to their desire. Next morning he drew off the Volscians, who had not all the same sentiments of what had passed. Some blamed him ; others, whose inclinations were for peace, found no fault ; others again, though they disliked what was done, did not look upon Coriolanus as a bad man, but thought he was excusable in yielding to such powerful solicitations. However, none presumed to contradict his orders, though they followed him rather out of veneration for his virtue than regard to his authority.

The sense of the dreadful and dangerous circumstances which the Roman people had been in by reason of the war, never appeared so strong as when they were delivered from it. For no sooner did they perceive from the walls that the Volscians were drawing off, than all the temples were opened and filled with persons crowned with garlands, and offering sacrifice, as for some great victory. But in nothing was the public joy more evident than in the affectionate regard and honour which both the senate and people paid the women, whom they both considered and declared the means of their preservation. Nevertheless, when the senate decreed,² that whatever they thought would contribute most to their glory and satisfaction, the consuls should take care to see it done, they only desired that a temple might be built to the FORTUNE OF WOMEN, the expense of which they offered to defray themselves, requiring the commonwealth to be at no other charge than that of sacrifices, and such a solemn service as was suitable to the majesty of the gods. The senate, though they commended their generosity, ordered the temple and shrine to be erected at the public charge ;³ but the women contributed their money notwithstanding, and with it provided another image of the goddess, which the Romans report, when it was set up in the temple, to have uttered these words, O WOMEN ! MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE GODS IS THIS YOUR PIOUS GIFT.

They fabulously report that this voice was repeated twice, thus offering to our faith things that appear impossible. Indeed, we will

¹ He well foresaw that the Volscians would never forgive him the favour he did their enemies.

² It was decreed that an encomium of those matrons should be engraven on a public monument.

³ It was erected in the Latin way, about

four miles from Rome, on the place where Veturia had overcome the obstinacy of her son. Valeria, who had proposed so successful a deputation, was the first priestess of this temple, which was much frequented by the Roman women.

not deny that images may have sweated, may have been covered with tears, and emitted drops like blood. For wood and stone often contract a scurf and mouldiness that produce moisture ; and they not only exhibit many different colours themselves, but receive variety of tinctures from the ambient air ; at the same time there is no reason why the Deity may not make use of these signs to announce things to come. It is also very possible that a sound like that of a sigh or a groan may proceed from a statue, by the rupture or violent separation of some of the interior parts ; but that an articulate voice and expression so clear, so full and perfect, should fall from a thing inanimate is out of all the bounds of possibility. For neither the soul of man, nor even God himself, can utter vocal sounds, and pronounce words without an organised body and parts fitted for utterance. Wherever, then, history asserts such things, and bears us down with the testimony of many credible witnesses, we must conclude that some impression not unlike that of sense influenced the imagination, and produced the belief of a real sensation : as in sleep we seem to hear what we hear not, and to see what we do not see. As for those persons who are possessed with such a strong sense of religion that they cannot reject anything of this kind, they found their faith on the wonderful and incomprehensible power of God. For there is no manner of resemblance between him and a human being, either in his nature, his wisdom, his power, or his operations. If, therefore, he performs something which we cannot effect, and executes what with us is impossible, there is nothing in this contradictory to reason ; since, though he far excels us in everything, yet the dissimilitude and distance between him and us appear most of all in the works which he hath wrought. *But much knowledge of things divine, as Heracitus affirms, is apes us through want of faith.*

When Coriolanus returned, after this expedition, to Antium, Tullus, who both hated and feared him, resolved to assassinate him immediately ; being persuaded that, if he missed this, he should not have such another opportunity. First, therefore, he collected and prepared a number of accomplices, and then called upon Coriolanus to divest himself of his authority, and give an account of his conduct to the Volscians. Dreading the consequence of being reduced to a private station, while Tullus, who had so great an interest with his countrymen, was in power, he made answer, that if the Volscians required it, he would give up his commission, and not otherwise, since he had taken it at their common request ; but that he was ready to give an account of his behaviour even then, if the citizens of Antium would have it so. Hereupon, they met in full assembly, and some of the orators who were prepared for it, endeavoured to exasperate the populace against him. But when Coriolanus stood up, the violence of the tumult abated, and he had liberty to speak ; the best part of the people of Antium, and those that were most inclined to peace, appearing ready to hear him with candour, and to pass sentence with equity. Tullus was then afraid that he would make but too good a defence ; for he was

an eloquent man, and the former advantages which he had procured the nation outweighed his present offence. Nay, the very impeachment was a clear proof of the greatness of the benefits he had conferred upon them. For they would never have thought themselves injured in not conquering Rome, if they had not been near taking it through his means. The conspirators, therefore, judged it prudent not to wait any longer, or to try the multitude; and the boldest of their faction, crying out that a traitor ought not to be heard, or suffered by the Volscians to act the tyrant, and refuse to lay down his authority, rushed upon him in a body, and killed him on the spot; not one that was present lifting a hand to defend him. It was soon evident that this was not done with the general approbation; for they assembled from several cities to give his body an honourable burial,² and adorned his monument with arms and spoils, as became a distinguished warrior and general.

When the Romans were informed of his death, they showed no sign either of favour or resentment. Only they permitted the women, at their request, to go into mourning for ten months, as they used to do for a father, a son, or a brother; this being the longest term for mourning allowed by Numa Pompilius, as we have mentioned in his Life.

The Volscian affairs soon wanted the abilities of Marcius. For, first of all, in a dispute which they had with the Æqui, their friends and allies, which of the two nations should give a general to their armies, they proceeded to blows, and a number were killed and wounded: and afterwards coming to a battle with the Romans, in which they were defeated, and Tullus, together with the flower of their army, slain, they were forced to accept of very disgraceful conditions of peace, by which they were reduced to the obedience of Rome, and obliged to accept of such terms as the conquerors would allow them.

CAMILLUS.

AMONG the many remarkable things related of Furius Camillus, the most extraordinary seems to be this, that though he was often in

¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, they stoned him to death.

² They dressed him in his general's robes, and laid his corpse on a magnificent bier, which was carried by such young officers as were most distinguished for their martial exploits. Before him were borne the spoils he had taken from the enemy, the crowns he had gained, and plans of the cities he had taken. In this order his body was laid on the pile, while several victims were slain in honour to his memory. When the pile was consumed, they gathered up his ashes, which they interred on the spot, and erected a magnificent monument there. Coriolanus was slain in the second year of Olympiad 75

In the 36th year of Rome, and 5 years after his first campaign. According to this account he died in the flower of his age; but Livy informs us, from Fabius, a very ancient author, that he lived till he was very old; and that in the decline of life he was wont to say, that "A state of exile was always uncomfortable, but more so to an old man than to another." We cannot, however, think that Coriolanus grew old among the Volscians. Had he done so, his counsels would have preserved them from ruin; and, after Tullus was slain, he would have restored their affairs, and have got them admitted to the rights and privileges of Roman citizens in the same manner as the Latins.

the highest commands, and performed the greatest actions, though he was five times chosen dictator, though he triumphed four times, and was styled the *second founder of Rome*, yet he was never once consul. Perhaps we may discover the reason in the state of the commonwealth at that time : the people then at variance with the senate¹ refused to elect consuls, and, instead of them, put the government into the hands of *military tribunes*. Though these acted, indeed, with consular power and authority, yet their administration was less grievous to the people, because they were more in number. To have the direction of affairs entrusted to six persons instead of two, was some ease and satisfaction to a people that could not bear to be dictated to by the nobility. Camillus, then distinguished by his achievements and at the height of glory, did not choose to be consul against the inclinations of the people, though the *comitia*, or assemblies in which they might have elected consuls, were several times held in that period. In all his other commissions, which were many and various, he so conducted himself that, if he was entrusted with the sole power, he shared it with others, and if he had a colleague, the glory was his own. The authority seemed to be shared by reason of his great modesty in command, which gave no occasion to envy ; and the glory was secured to him by his genius and capacity, in which he was universally allowed to have no equal.

The Family of the Furii² was not very illustrious before his time ; he was the first that raised it to distinction, when he served under Posthumius Tabertus in the great battle with the Equi and Volsci. In that action, spurring his horse before the ranks, he received a wound in the thigh, when, instead of retiring, he plucked the javelin out of the wound, engaged with the bravest of the enemy, and put them to flight.³ For this, among other honours, he was appointed censor, an office at that time of great dignity.⁴ There is upon record a very laudable act of his that took place during his office. As the wars had made many widows, he obliged such of the men as lived

1 The old quarrel about the distribution of lands was revived, the people insisting that every citizen should have an equal share. The senate met frequently to discuss the proposal, at last Appian Claudius moved, that some of the college of the tribunes of the people should be elected, as the only remedy against the tyranny of that body ; which was accordingly put in execution. The commons, thus disappointed, chose military tribunes, instead of consuls, and sometimes had them all plebeians. Liv. l. iv. c. 45.

2 *Furius* was the family name. *Camillus* was an appellation of children of quality who administered in the temple of some god. Our Camillus was the first who retained it as a surname.

3 This was in the year of Rome 334, when Camillus might be about 16 or 15 years of age (for in the year of Rome 369 he was married), though the Romans youth

did not use to bear arms sooner than 17. And though Plutarch says that his gallant behaviour at that time procured him the citizenship, yet that was an office which the Romans never conferred upon a young person ; and, in fact, Camillus was not censor till the year of Rome 353.

4 The authority of the censor, in the time of the republic, was very extensive. They had a power to expel senators from the house, to declare the knights, and to dissolve the commons from giving their votes in the assemblies of the people. But the emperors took the office upon themselves ; and so many of them abused it, it lost its honour, and sometimes the very title was laid aside. As to what Plutarch says, that Camillus, when censor, obliged many of the *backsliders* to marry the widows of those who had fallen in the wars, that was in pursuance of one of the powers of his office. *Cicero de probitate.*

single, partly by persuasion. and partly by threatening them with fines, to marry those widows. Another act of his, which indeed was absolutely necessary, was, the causing orphans, who before were exempt from taxes, to contribute to the supplies; for these were very large by reason of the continual wars. What was then most urgent was the siege of Veii, whose inhabitants some call Venetani. This city was the barrier of Tuscany, and, in the quantity of her arms and number of her military, not inferior to Rome. Proud of her wealth, her elegance, and luxury, she had maintained with the Romans many long and gallant disputes for glory and for power. But humbled by many signal defeats, the Veientes had then bid adieu to that ambition; they satisfied themselves with building strong and high walls, and filling the city with provisions, arms, and all kinds of warlike stores; and so they waited for the enemy without fear. The siege was long, but no less laborious and troublesome to the besiegers than to them. For the Romans had long been accustomed to summer campaigns only, and to winter at home; and then *for the first time their officers ordered them to construct forts, to raise strong works about their camp, and to pass the winter as well as summer in the enemy's country.*

The seventh year of the war was now almost passed, when the generals began to be blamed; and as it was thought they showed not sufficient vigour in the siege,¹ they were superseded, and others put in their room; among whom was Camillus, then appointed tribune the second time. He was not, however, at present concerned in the siege, for it fell to his lot to head the expedition against the Falisci and Capenates, who, while the Romans were otherwise employed, committed great depredations in their country, and harassed them during the whole Tuscan war. But Camillus, falling upon them, killed great numbers, and shut up the rest within their walls.

During the heat of the war, a phenomenon appeared in the Alban lake, which might be reckoned amongst the strangest prodigies; and, as no common or natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. The summer was now declining, and the season by no means rainy, nor remarkable for south winds. Of the many springs, brooks, and lakes, which Italy abounds with, some were dried up, and others but feebly resisted the drought; the rivers, always low in the summer, then ran with a very slender stream. *But the Alban lake, which has its source within itself, and*

¹ Of the six military tribunes of that year, only two, L. Virginus and Manius Sergius, carried on the siege of Veii. Sergius commanded the attack, and Virginus covered the siege. While the army was thus divided, the Falisci and Capenates fell upon Sergius, and, at the same time, the besieged sallied out, attacked him on the other side. The Romans

under his command, thinking they had all the forces of Hetruria to deal with, began to lose courage and retire. Virginus could have saved his colleague's troops, but as Sergius was too proud to send to him for succour, he resolved not to give him any. The enemy, therefore, made a dreadful slaughter of the Romans in their lines. Liv. lib. v. c. 8.

discharges no part of its water, being quite surrounded with mountains, without any cause, unless it was a supernatural one, began to rise and swell in a most remarkable manner, increasing till it reached the sides, and at last the very tops of the hills, all which happened without any agitation of its waters. For awhile it was the wonder of the shepherds and herdsmen; but when the earth, which like a mole, kept it from overflowing the country below, was broken down with the quantity and weight of water, then descending like a torrent through the ploughed fields and other cultivated grounds to the sea, it not only astonished the Romans, but was thought by all Italy to portend some extraordinary event. It was the great subject of conversation in the camp before Veii, so that it came at last to be known to the besieged.

As in the course of long sieges there is usually some conversation with the enemy, it happened that a Roman soldier formed an acquaintance with one of the townsmen, a man versed in ancient traditions, and supposed to be more than ordinarily skilled in divination. The Roman perceiving that he expressed great satisfaction at the story of the lake, and thereupon laughed at the siege, told him, "This was not the only wonder the times had produced, but other prodigies still stranger than this had happened to the Romans; which he should be glad to communicate to him, if by that means he could provide for his own safety in the midst of the public ruin." The man readily hearkening to the proposal, came out to him, expecting to hear some secret, and the Roman continued the discourse, drawing him forward by degrees, till they were at some distance from the gates. Then he snatched him up in his arms, and by his superior strength held him till, with the assistance of several soldiers from the camp, he was secured and carried before the generals. The man reduced to this necessity, and knowing that destiny cannot be avoided, declared the secret oracles concerning his own country, "That the city could never be taken, till the waters of the Alban lake, which had now forsaken their bed, and found new passages, were turned back, or so diverted as to prevent their mixing with the sea."¹

The senate, informed of this prediction, and deliberating upon it, were of opinion it would be best to send to Delphi to consult the oracle. They chose for this purpose three persons of honour and distinction, Lucinius Cossus, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius Ambustus; who, having had a prosperous voyage, and consulted Apollo, returned with this among other answers, "That they had neglected some ceremonies in the Latin feasts."² As to the water of the Alban lake, they were ordered, if possible, to shut it up in its ancient bed; or, if that could not be effected, to dig canals and trenches for it, till it lost itself on the land. Agreeably to this

¹ The prophecy, according to Livy (l. v. c. 15) was this, *Let it never be taken till all the water is run out of the lake of Alba.*

² These feasts were instituted by Tar-

quin the Proud. The Romans presided in them; but all the people of Latium were to attend them, and to partake of a bull then sacrificed to Jupiter Latiaris.

direction, the priests were employed in offering sacrifices, and the people in labour to turn the course of the water.

In the tenth year of the siege, the senate removed the other magistrates, and appointed Camillus dictator, who made choice of Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse. In the first place he made vows to the gods, if they favoured him with putting a glorious period to the war, to celebrate the great circensian games to their honour,² and to consecrate the temple of the goddess, whom the Romans call *the mother Matuta*. By her sacred rites we may suppose this last to be the goddess Leucothea. For they take a female slave into the inner part of the temple,³ where they beat her, and then drive her out; they carry their brother's children in their arms instead of their own;⁴ and they represent in the ceremonies of the sacrifice all that happened to the nurses of Bacchus, and what Ino suffered for having saved the son of Juno's rival.

After these vows, Camillus penetrated into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them and their auxiliaries the Capenates. Then he turned to the siege of Veii; and perceiving it would be both difficult and dangerous to endeavour to take it by assault, he ordered mines to be dug, the soil about the city being easy to work, and admitting of depth enough for the works to be carried on unseen by the enemy. As this succeeded to his wish, he made an assault without, to call the enemy to the walls; and, in the meantime, others of his soldiers made their way through the mines, and secretly penetrated to Juno's temple in the citadel. This was the most considerable temple in the city; and we are told that at that instant the Tuscan general happened to be sacrificing; when the soothsayer, upon inspection of the entrails, cried out, "The gods promise victory to him that shall finish this sacrifice;"⁵ the Romans who were under ground, hearing what he said, immediately removed the pavement, and came out with loud shouts and clashing their arms, which struck the enemy with such terror that they fled, and left the entrails, which were carried to Camillus. But perhaps this has more of the air of fable than of history.

The city thus taken by the Romans, sword in hand, while they were busy in plundering it and carrying off its immense riches, Camillus beholding from the citadel what was done, at first burst into tears; and when those about him began to magnify his happiness, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, and uttered this prayer: "Great Jupiter, and ye gods that have the inspection of

¹ This wonderful work subsists to this day, and the waters of the lake Albano run through it.

² There was a kind of tournament in the great circus.

³ Leucothea or Ino was jealous of one of her female slaves who was the favourite of her husband Athamas.

⁴ Ino was a very unhappy mother; for she had seen her son Leucarch slain by her husband, whereupon she threw herself into the sea with her other son Melicertes.

But she was a more fortunate aunt, having preserved Bacchus the son of her sister Semele.

⁵ Words spoken by persons unconcerned in their affairs, and upon a quite different subject, well interpreted by the Heathens as good or bad omens, if they happened to be any way applicable to their case. And they took great pains to fulfil the omen, if they thought it fortunate; as well as to evade it, if it appeared unlucky.

our good and evil actions, ye know that the Romans, not without just cause, but in their own defence, and constrained by necessity, have made war against this city, and their enemies its unjust inhabitants. *If we must have some misfortune in lieu of this success, I entreat that it may fall, not upon Rome or the Roman army, but upon myself; yet lay not, ye gods, a heavy hand upon me!*"¹ Having pronounced these words, he turned to the right, as the manner of the Romans is after prayer and supplication, but fell in turning. His friends that were by expressed great uneasiness at the accident, but he soon recovered himself from the fall, and told them, "It was only a small inconvenience after great success, agreeable to his prayer."²

After the city was pillaged, he determined, pursuant to his vow, to remove this statue of Juno to Rome. The workmen were assembled for the purpose, and he offered sacrifice to the goddess, "Beseeching her to accept of their homage, and graciously to take up her abode among the gods of Rome." To which, it is said, the statue softly answered, "She was willing and ready to do it." But Livy says, Camillus, in offering up his petition, touched the image of the goddess, and entreated her to go with them, and that some of the standers by answered, "She consented, and would willingly follow them." Those that support and defend the miracle have the fortune of Rome on their side, which could never have risen from such small and contemptible beginnings to that height of glory and empire without the constant assistance of some god, who favoured them with many considerable tokens of his presence. Several miracles of a similar nature are also alleged; as, that images have often sweated; that they have been heard to groan; and that sometimes they have turned from their votaries, and shut their eyes. Many such accounts we have from our ancients; and not a few persons of our own times have given us wonderful relations, not unworthy of notice. But to give entire credit to them or altogether to disbelieve them is equally dangerous, on account of human weakness. We keep not always within the bounds of reason, nor are masters of our minds. Sometimes we fall into vain superstition, and sometimes into an impious neglect of all religion. It is best to be cautious, and to avoid extremes.³

Whether it was that Camillus was elated with his great exploit in taking a city that was the rival of Rome, after it had been besieged ten years, or that he was misled by his flatterers, he took

¹ Livy, who has given us this prayer, has not qualified it with that modification so unworthy of Camillus, may it be with as little detriment as possible to myself. On the contrary, he says, *ut eam turpidam lenire suo privato incommodo, quam mentis publico populi Romani fieret.* Camillus prayed, that, *if this success must have an equivalent in some ensuing misfortune, that misfortune might fall upon himself, and the Roman people escape with as little detriment as possible.* This was great and

heroic. Plutarch having but an imperfect knowledge of the Roman language, probably mistook the sense.

² Livy tells us, it was conjectured from the event, that this fall of Camillus was a promise of his condemnation and banishment.

³ The great Mr. Addison seems to have had this passage of Plutarch in his eye, when he delivered his opinion concerning the doctrine of witchcraft.

upon him too much state for a magistrate subject to the laws and usages of his country ; for his triumph was conducted with excessive pomp, and he rode through Rome in a chariot drawn by four white horses, which no general ever did before or after him. Indeed, this sort of carriage is esteemed sacred, and is appropriated to the king and father of the gods.¹ The citizens, therefore, considered this unusual appearance of grandeur as an insult upon them. Besides, they were offended at his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided. For their tribunes had proposed that the senate and people should be divided into two equal parts ; one part to remain at Rome, and the other, as the lot happened to fall, to remove to the conquered city, by which means they would not only have more room, but, by being in possession of two considerable cities, be better able to defend their territories, and to watch over their prosperity. The people, who were very numerous, and enriched by the late plunder, constantly assembled in the *forum*, and in a tumultuous manner demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate and other principal citizens considered this proposal of the tribunes not so much the dividing as the destroying of Rome,² and in their uneasiness applied to Camillus. Camillus was afraid to put it to the trial, and therefore invented demurs and pretences of delay, to prevent the bill being offered to the people ; by which he incurred their displeasure.

But the greatest and most manifest cause of their hatred was his behaviour with respect to the tenths of the spoils ; and if the resentment of the people was not in this case altogether just, yet it had some show of reason. It seems he made a vow, as he marched to Veii, that if he took the city, he would consecrate the tenths to Apollo. But when the city was taken, and came to be pillaged, he was either unwilling to interrupt his men, or in the hurry had forgot his vow, and so gave up the whole plunder to them. After he had resigned his dictatorship, he laid the case before the senate ; and the soothsayers declared, that the sacrifices announced the anger of the gods, which ought to be appeased by offerings expressive of their gratitude for the favours they had received. The senate then made a decree, that the plunder should remain with the soldiers (for they knew not how to manage it otherwise) ; but that each should produce, upon oath, the tenth of the value of what he had got. This was a great hardship upon the soldiers ; and those poor fellows could not without force be brought to refund so large a portion of the fruit of their labours, and to make good not only what they had hardly earned, but now actually spent. Camillus, distressed with their complaints, for want of a better excuse, made use of a very absurd apology, by acknowledging he had forgotten his vow. This they greatly resented, that having then vowed the tenths of the enemy's goods, he should now exact the tenths of the

¹ He likewise coloured his face with vermilion, the colour with which the statues of the gods were commonly painted.

² They feared that two such cities would

by degrees become two different states, which, after a destructive war with each other, would at length fall a prey to their common enemies.

CITIZENS. However, they all produced their proportion, and it was resolved that a vase of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But as there was a scarcity of gold in the city, while the magistrates were considering how to procure it, *the Roman matrons met, and having consulted among themselves, gave up their golden ornaments, which weighed eight talents, as an offering to the god.* And the senate, in honour of their piety, *decreed that they should have funeral orations as well as the men, which had not been the custom before.*¹ They then sent three of the chief nobility ambassadors, in a large ship, well manned, and fitted out in a manner becoming so solemn an occasion.

In this voyage, they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm, but escaped beyond all expectation, when on the brink of destruction. For the wind slackening near the Æolean islands, the galleys of the Lipareans gave them chase as pirates. Upon their stretching out their hands for mercy, the Lipareans used no violence to their persons, but towed the ship into harbour, and there exposed both them and their goods to sale, having first adjudged them to be lawful prize. With much difficulty, however, they were prevailed upon to release them, out of regard to the merit and authority of Timesitheus the chief magistrate of the place; who, moreover, conveyed them with his own vessels, and assisted in dedicating the gift. For this suitable honours were paid him at Rome.

And now the *tribunes of the people* attempted to bring the law for removing part of the citizens to Veii once more upon the carpet; but the war with the Falisci very seasonably intervening, put the management of the elections in the hands of the patricians; and they nominated Camillus a *military tribune*,² together with five others; as affairs then required a general of considerable dignity, reputation, and experience. When the people had confirmed this nomination, Camillus marched his forces into the country of the Falisci, and laid siege to Falerii, a city well fortified, and provided in all respects for the war. He was sensible it was like to be no easy affair, nor soon to be despatched, and this was one reason for his engaging in it; for *he was desirous to keep the citizens employed abroad, that they might not have leisure to sit down at home and raise tumults and seditions.* This was, indeed, a remedy which the Romans always had recourse to, like good physicians, to expel dangerous humours from the body politic.

The Falerians, trusting to the fortifications with which they were surrounded, made so little account of the siege that the inhabitants, except those who guarded the walls, walked the streets in their

¹ The matrons had the value of the gold paid them: and it was not on this occasion, but afterwards, when they contributed their golden ornaments to make up the sum demanded by the Gauls, that funeral orations were granted them. The privilege they were now favoured with, was leave

to ride in chariots at the public games and sacrifices, and in open carriages, of a less honourable sort, on other occasions, in the streets.

² The year of Rome 301. Camillus was then military tribune the third time.

common habits. The boys too went to school, and the master took them out to walk and exercise about the walls. *For the Falerians, like the Greeks, chose to have their children bred at one public school, that they might betimes be accustomed to the same discipline, and form themselves to friendship and society.*

This schoolmaster, then, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, took them every day out of the city to exercise, keeping pretty close to the walls at first, and when their exercise was over, led them in again. By degrees he took them out farther, accustoming them to divert themselves freely, as if they had nothing to fear. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the Roman advanced guard, and delivered them up to be carried to Camillus. When he came into his presence, he said, "He was the schoolmaster of Falerii, but preferring his favour to the obligations of duty, he came to deliver up those children to him, and in them the whole city." This action appeared very shocking to Camillus, and he said to those that were by, "*War (at best) is a savage thing, and wades through a sea of violence and injustice; yet even war itself has its laws, which men of honour will not depart from; nor do they so pursue victory, as to avail themselves of acts of villany and baseness. For a great general should only rely on his own virtue, and not upon the treachery of others.*" Then he ordered the lictors to tear off the wretch's clothes, to tie his hands behind him, and furnish the boys with rods and scourges, to punish the traitor, and whip him into the city. By this time the Falerians had discovered the schoolmaster's treason; the city, as might be expected, was full of lamentations for so great a loss, and the principal inhabitants, both men and women, crowded about the walls and the gate like persons distracted. In the midst of this disorder they espied the boys whipping on their master, naked and bound, and calling Camillus their god, their deliverer, their father. Not only the parents of those children, but all the citizens in general were struck with admiration at the spectacle, and conceived such an affection for the justice of Camillus, that they immediately assembled in council, and sent deputies to surrender to him both themselves and their city.

Camillus sent them to Rome; and when they were introduced to the senate, they said, "The Romans, in preferring justice to conquest, have taught us to be satisfied with submission instead of liberty. At the same time, we declare we do not think ourselves so much beneath you in strength as inferior in virtue." The senate referred the disquisition and settling of the articles of peace to Camillus; who contented himself with taking a sum of money of the Falerians, and having entered into alliance with the whole nation of the Falisci, returned to Rome.

But the soldiers, who expected to have had the plundering of Falerii, when they came back empty-handed, accused Camillus to their fellow-citizens as an enemy to the commons, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. And when the tribunes again proposed the law for transplanting part of the

citizens to Veii,¹ and summoned the people to give their votes, Camillus spoke very freely, or rather with much asperity against it, appearing remarkably violent in his opposition to the people; who, therefore, lost their bill, but harboured a strong resentment against Camillus. Even the misfortune he had in his family, of losing one of his sons, did not in the least mitigate their rage; though, as a man of great goodness and tenderness of heart, he was inconsolable for his loss, and *shut himself up at home, a close mourner with the women*, at the same time that they were lodging an impeachment against him.

His accuser was Lucius Apuleius, who brought against him a charge of fraud with respect to the Tuscan spoils; and it was alleged that certain brass gates, a part of those spoils, were found with him. The people were so much exasperated that it was plain they would lay hold on any pretext to condemn him. He, therefore, assembled his friends, his colleagues, and fellow-soldiers, a great number in all, and begged of them not to suffer him to be crushed by false and unjust accusations, and exposed to the scorn of his enemies. When they had consulted together, and fully considered the affair, the answer they gave was, that they did not believe it in their power to prevent the sentence, but they would willingly assist him to pay the fine that might be laid upon him. He could not, however, bear the thoughts of so great an indignity, and giving way to his resentment, determined to quit the city as a voluntary exile. Having taken leave of his wife and children, he went in silence from his house to the gate of the city.² There he made a stand, and turning about, stretched out his hands towards the Capitol, and prayed to the gods, "That if he was driven out without any fault of his own, and merely by the violence or envy of the people, the Romans might quickly repent it, and express to all the world their want of Camillus, and their regret for his absence."

When he had thus, like Achilles, uttered his imprecations against his countrymen, he departed; and leaving his cause undefended, he was condemned to pay a fine of 15,000 *asses*; which, reduced to Grecian money, is 1500 *drachmæ*: for the *as* is a small coin that is the tenth part of a piece of silver, which for that reason is called *denarius*, and answers to our *drachma*. There is not a man in Rome who does not believe that these imprecations of Camillus had their effect; though the punishment of his countrymen for their injustice proved no ways agreeable to him, but on the contrary matter of grief. Yet how great, how memorable was that punishment! how remarkably did vengeance pursue the Romans! what danger, destruction, and disgrace, did those times bring upon the city!

¹ The patricians carried it against the bill, only by a majority of one tribe. And now they were so well pleased with the people, that the very next morning a decree was passed, restoring six acres of the lands of Veii, not only to every father of a family, but to every single person of free con-

dition. On the other hand, the people, delighted with this liberality, allowed the electing of consuls instead of military tribunes.

² This was four years after the taking of Falusii.

whether it was the work of fortune, or whether it is the office of some deity to see that virtue shall not be oppressed by the ungrateful with impunity.¹

The first token of the approaching calamities was the death of Julius the *Censor*.² For the Romans have a particular veneration for the censor, and look upon his office as sacred. A second token happened a little before the exile of Camillus. Marcus Ceditius, a man of no illustrious family indeed, nor of senatorial rank, but a person of great probity and virtue, informed the military tribunes of a matter which deserved great attention. As he was going the night before along what is called the New Road, he said he was addressed in a loud voice. Upon turning about he saw nobody, but heard these words in an accent more than human, "Go, Marcus Ceditius, and early in the morning acquaint the magistrates that they must shortly expect the Gauls." But the tribunes made a jest of the information; and soon after followed the disgrace of Camillus.

The Gauls are of Celtic origin,³ and are said to have left their country, which was too small to maintain their vast numbers, to go in search of another. These emigrants consisted of many thousands of young and able warriors, with a still greater number of women and children. Part of them took their route towards the northern ocean, crossed the Rhiphæan mountains, and settled in the extreme parts of Europe; and part established themselves for a long time between the Pyrenees and the Alps, near the Senones, and Celtorians.⁴ But *happening to taste of wine, which was then for the first time brought out of Italy, they so much admired the liquor, and were so enchanted with this new pleasure, that they snatched up their arms, and taking their parents along with them, marched to the Alps, to seek that country which produced such excellent fruit,* and, in comparison of which, they considered all others as barren and ungenial.

The man that first carried wine amongst them, and excited them to invade Italy, is said to have been Aruns, a Tuscan, a man of some distinction, and not naturally disposed to mischief, but led to it by his misfortunes. He was guardian to an orphan named

¹ It was the goddess Nemesis whom the heathens believed to have the office of punishing evil actions in this world, particularly pride and ingratitude.

² The Greek text as it now stands, instead of the censor Julius, has the month of July; but that has been owing to the error of some ignorant transcriber. Upon the death of Caius Julius the censor, Marcus Cornelius was appointed to succeed him; but as the censorship of the latter proved unfortunate, ever after, when a censor happened to die in his office, they not only forbore naming another in his place, but obliged his colleague too to quit his dignity.

³ The ancients called all the inhabitants of the west and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of Celts.

⁴ The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and Troyes, as far up as Paris. Who the Celtorians were is not known: probably the word is corrupted.

⁵ Livy tells us, Italy was known to the Gauls 200 years before, though he does not indeed mention the story of Aruns. Then he goes on to inform us, that the migration of the Gauls into Italy and other countries was occasioned by their numbers being too large for their old settlements; and that the two brothers Bellocenus and Sigovenus casting lots to determine which way they should steer their course, Italy fell to Bellocenus and Germany to Sigovenus.

Lucumo,¹ of the greatest fortune of the country, and most celebrated for beauty. Aruns brought him up from a boy, and when grown up, he still continued at his house, upon a pretence of enjoying his conversation. Meanwhile he had corrupted his guardian's wife, or she had corrupted him, and for a long time the criminal commerce was carried on undiscovered. At length their passion becoming so violent that they could neither restrain nor conceal it, the young man carried her off, and attempted to keep her openly. The husband endeavoured to find his redress at law, but was disappointed by the superior interest and wealth of Lucumo. He therefore quitted his own country, and having heard of the enterprising spirit of the Gauls, went to them, and conducted their armies into Italy.

In their first expedition they soon possessed themselves of that country which stretches out from the Alps to both seas. That this of old belonged to the Tuscans, the names themselves are a proof; for the sea which lies to the north is called the Adriatic from a Tuscan city named Adria, and that on the other side to the south is called the Tuscan Sea. All that country is well planted with trees, has excellent pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen considerable cities, whose manufactures and trade procure them the gratifications of luxury. The Gauls expelled the Tuscans, and made themselves masters of these cities.

The Gauls were now besieging Clusium, a city of Tuscany. The Clusians applied to the Romans, entreating them to send ambassadors and letters to the barbarians. Accordingly they sent three illustrious persons of the *Fabian* family, who had borne the highest employments in the state. The Gauls received them courteously on account of the name of Rome, and putting a stop to their operations against the town, came to a conference. But when they were asked what injury they had received from the Clusians that they came against their city, Brennus, king of the Gauls, smiled and said, "The injury the Clusians do us, is their keeping to themselves a large tract of ground, when they can only cultivate a small one, and refusing to give up a part of it to us who are strangers, numerous and poor. In the same manner you Romans were injured formerly by the Albans, the Fidenates, and the Ardeates, and lately by the people of Veii and Capenæ, and the greatest part of the Falisci and the Volsci. Upon these you make war; if they refuse to share with you their goods, you enslave their persons, lay waste their country, and demolish their cities. *Nor are your proceedings dishonourable or unjust; for you follow the most ancient of laws, which directs the weak to obey the strong, from the Creator even to the irrational part of the creation, that are taught by nature to make use of the advantage their strength affords them against the feeble.* Cease then to express your compassion for the Clusians, lest you

¹ Lucumo was not the name but the title of the young man. He was Lord of a

Lucumony. Letrinia was divided into principalities called Lucumonies.

teach the Gauls in their turn to commiserate those that have been oppressed by the Romans."

By this answer the Romans clearly perceived that Brennus would come to no terms; and therefore they went into Clusium, where they encouraged and animated the inhabitants to a sally against the barbarians, either to make trial of the strength of the Clusians, or to show their own. The Clusians made the sally, and a sharp conflict ensued near the walls, when Quintus Ambustus, one of the Fabii, spurred his horse against a Gaul of extraordinary size and figure, who had advanced a good way before the ranks. At first he was not known, because the encounter was hot, and his armour dazzled the eyes of the beholders; but when he had overcome and killed the Gaul, and came to despoil him of his arms, Brennus knew him, and called the gods to witness, "That against all the laws and usages of mankind which were esteemed the most sacred and inviolable, *Ambustus came as an ambassador, but acted as an enemy.*" He drew off his men directly, and bidding the Clusians farewell, led his army towards Rome. But that he might not seem to rejoice that such an affront was offered, or to have wanted a pretext for hostilities, he sent to demand the offender in order to punish him, and in the mean time advanced but slowly.

The herald being arrived, the senate was assembled, and many spoke against the Fabii; particularly the priests called *faciales* represented the action as an offence against religion, and adjured the senate to lay the whole guilt and the expiation of it upon the person who alone was to blame, and so to avert the wrath of Heaven from the rest of the Romans. These *faciales* were appointed by Numa, the mildest and justest of kings, conservators of peace, as well as judges to give sanction to the just causes of war. The senate referred the matter to the people, and the priests accused Fabius with the same ardour before them, but such was the disregard they expressed for their persons, and such their contempt of religion, that they constituted that very Fabius and his brethren *military tribunes*.¹

As soon as the Gauls were informed of this, they were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but hastened forward with the utmost celerity. Their prodigious numbers, their glittering arms, their fury and impetuosity, struck terror wherever they came; the people gave up their lands for lost, not doubting but the cities would soon follow: however, what was beyond all expectation, *they injured no man's property; they neither pillaged the fields nor insulted the cities; and as they passed by, they cried out, "They were going to Rome, they were at war with the Romans only, and considered all others as their friends."*

While the barbarians were going forward in this impetuous manner, the tribunes led out their forces to battle, in number not inferior² (for they consisted of 40,000 foot), but the greatest part

¹ The year of Rome 368 or 366.

² They were inferior in number; for the Gauls were 70,000; and, therefore, the Romans, when they came to action, were

obliged to extend their wings so as to make their centre very thin, which was one reason of their being soon broken.

undisciplined, and such as had never handled a weapon before. Besides, they paid no attention to religion, having neither propitiated the gods by sacrifice, nor consulted the soothsayers as was their duty in time of danger, and before an engagement. Another thing which occasioned no small confusion was the number of persons joined in the command; whereas before, they had often appointed for wars of less consideration a single leader, whom they call *dictator*, sensible of how great consequence it is to good order and success, at a dangerous crisis, to be actuated as it were with one soul, and to have the absolute command invested in one person. Their ungrateful treatment of Camillus, too, was not the least unhappy circumstance; as it now appeared dangerous for the generals to use their authority without some flattering indulgence to the people.

In this condition they marched out of the city, and encamped about 11 miles from it, on the banks of the river Allia, not far from its confluence with the Tiber. There the barbarians came upon them, and as the Romans engaged in a disorderly manner, they were shamefully beaten and put to flight. Their left wing was soon pushed into the river, and there destroyed. The right wing, which quitted the field to avoid the charge, and gained the hills, did not suffer so much; many of them escaping to Rome. The rest that survived the carnage, when the enemy were satiated with blood, stole by night to Veii, concluding that Rome was lost, and its inhabitants put to the sword.

This battle was fought when the moon was at full, about the summer solstice, the very same day (July 16) that the slaughter of the Fabii happened long before, when 300 of them were cut off by the Tuscans. The second misfortune, however, so much effaced the memory of the first, that the day is still called the *day of Allia*, from the river of that name.

As to the point, whether there be any lucky or unlucky days,¹ and whether Heraclitus was right in blaming Hesiod for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, it may not be amiss to mention a few examples. The Boeotians, on the fifth of the month which they call *Hippodromius* and the Athenians *He-catambaon* [July] gained two signal victories, both of which restored liberty to Greece; the one at Leuctra; the other at Gerastus, above 200 years before,² when they defeated Lattamyas and the Thessalians. On the other hand, the Persians were beaten by the Greeks on the sixth of *Boedromion* [Sept.] at Marathon, on the third at Platea, as also Mycale, and on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. About the full

¹ The ancients deemed some days lucky and others unlucky, either from some occult power which they supposed to be in numbers, or from the nature of the deities who presided over them, or else from observation of fortunate or unfortunate events having often happened on particular days.

² The Thessalians under the command

of Lattamyas were beaten by the Boeotians not long before the battle of Thermopylae, and little more than 100 years before the battle of Leuctra. There is also an error here in the name of the place. Instead of Gerastus, we should read Gerusius; the former was a promontory in Euboea, the latter was a fort in Boeotia.

moon of the same month, the Athenians, under the conduct of Chabrias, were victorious in the sea-fight near Naxos, and on the twentieth they gained the victory of Salamis. The month *Thargelion* [May] was also remarkably unfortunate to the barbarians; for in that month Alexander defeated the king of Persia's generals near the Granicus; and the Carthaginians were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily on the twenty-fourth of the same; a day still more remarkable (according to Ephorus, Callisthenes, Demaster, and Phylarchus) for the taking of Troy. On the contrary, the month *Metagitnion* [August] which the Boeotians call *Panemus*, was very unlucky to the Greeks; for on the seventh they were beaten by Antipater in the battle of Cranon and utterly ruined, and before that, they were defeated by Philip at Charonea. And on that same day, month, and year, the troops which under Archidamus made a descent upon Italy, were cut to pieces by the barbarians. The Carthaginians have set a mark upon the twenty-second of that month, as a day that has always brought upon them the greatest calamities. At the same time I am not ignorant that about the time of the celebration of the *mysterics*, Thebes was demolished by Alexander; and after that, on the same twentieth of *Boedromion* [Sept.] a day sacred to the solemnities of Bacchus, the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garrison. On one and the same day the Romans, under the command of Cæpio, were stripped of their camp by the Cimbri, and afterwards under Lucullus conquered Tigranes and the Armenians. King Attalus and Pompey the Great both died on their birth days. And I could give account of many others who on the same day at different periods have experienced both good and bad fortune. Be that as it may, the Romans marked the day of their defeat at Allia as unfortunate; and as superstitious fears generally increase upon a misfortune, they not only distinguished that as such, but the two next that follow it in every month throughout the year.

If after so decisive a battle the Gauls had immediately pursued the fugitives, there would have been nothing to hinder the entire destruction of Rome and all that remained in it; with such terror was the city struck at the return of those that escaped from the battle, and so filled with confusion and distraction! But the Gauls, not imagining the victory to be so great as it was, in the excess of their joy indulged themselves in good cheer, and shared the plunder of the camp; by which means numbers that were for leaving the city had leisure to escape, and those that remained had time to recollect themselves and prepare for their defence. For, quitting the rest of the city, they retired to the Capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts and provided well with arms. But their first care was of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the Capitol. As for the sacred fire, the *vestal virgins* took it up, together with other holy relics, and fled away with it; though some will have it, that they have not the charge of anything but that *everliving* fire which Numa appointed to be worshipped as the principle of all things. It is indeed the most active thing in nature;

and all generation either is motion or, at least, with motion. Other parts of matter, when the heat fails, lie sluggish and dead, and crave the force of fire as an informing soul; and when that comes they acquire some active or passive quality. Hence it was that Numa, a man curious in his researches into nature, and on account of his wisdom supposed to have conversed with the muses, consecrated this fire, and ordered it to be perpetually kept up, as an image of that eternal Power which preserves and actuates the universe. Others say, that according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire is kept ever burning before the holy places, as an emblem of purity; but that there are other things in the most secret part of the temple, kept from the sight of all but those virgins whom they call *vestals*; and the most current opinion is, that the *palladium* of Troy, which Æneas brought into Italy, is laid up there.

Others say, the Samothracian gods are there concealed; whom Dardanus,¹ after he had built Troy, brought to that city and caused to be worshipped; and that after the taking of Troy, Æneas privately carried them off, and kept them till he settled in Italy. But those that pretend to know most about these matters say, there are placed there two casks of a moderate size, the one open and empty, the other full and sealed up, but neither of them to be seen by any but those holy virgins. Others, again, think this is all a mistake, which arose from their putting most of their sacred utensils in two casks, and hiding them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that the place from those casks is still called *Doliola*.

They took, however, with them the choicest and most sacred things they had, and fled with them along the side of the river; where Lucius Albinus, a plebeian, among others that were making their escape, was carrying his wife and children and some of his most necessary moveables in a waggon. But when he saw the vestals in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred symbols of the gods, he immediately took out his family and goods, and put the virgins in the waggon, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities.² This piety of Albinus, and the veneration he expressed for the gods at so dangerous a juncture, deserve to be recorded.

As for the other priests, and the most ancient of the senators that were of consular dignity, or had been honoured with triumphs, they could not bear to think of quitting the city. They, therefore, put on their holy vestments and robes of state, and, in a form dictated

¹ Dardanus, who flourished in the time of Moses B.C. 1480, is said to have been originally of Arcadia, from whence he passed to Samothrace. Afterwards he married Bates or Arista the daughter of Teneer, king of Phrygia. Of the Samothracian gods we may add from Macrobius, that the *dei magi*, which Dardanus brought from Samothrace, were the *penates*, or household gods, which Æneas afterwards carried into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, he had seen the

penates in an old temple at Rome. They were of antique workmanship, representing two young men sitting, and holding each a lance in his hand, and had for their inscription *DEUMAS*, instead of *PENAS*.

² Albinus conducted them to Cære, a city of Etruria, where they met with a favourable reception. The vestals remained a considerable time at Cære, and there performed the usual rites of religion; and hence those rites were called *Cæremones*.

by Fabius, the *pontifex maximus*, making their vows to the gods,¹ devoted themselves for their country: thus attired, they sat down in their ivory chairs in the *forum*,² prepared for the worst extremity.

The third day after the battle, Brennus arrived with his army; and finding the gates of the city opened and the walls destitute of guards, at first he had some apprehensions of a stratagem or ambuscade, for he could not think the Romans had so entirely given themselves up to despair. But when he found it to be so in reality, he entered by the *Colline* gate, and took Rome, a little more than 360 years after its foundation; if it is likely that any exact account has been kept of those times,³ the confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date.

Some uncertain rumours, however, of Rome's being taken, appear to have soon passed into Greece. For Heraclides of Pontus,⁴ who lived not long after these times, in his treatise *concerning the soul*, relates, that an account was brought from the west, that an army from the country of the Hyperboreans⁵ had taken a Greek city called Rome, situated somewhere near the Great Sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous writer as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome, with the pompous terms of Hyperboreans and the Great Sea. It is very clear that Aristotle the philosopher had heard that Rome was taken by the Gauls; but he calls its deliverer Lucius; whereas Camillus was not called Lucius but Marcus. These authors had no better authority than common report.

Brennus, thus in possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the Capitol, and himself went down into the *forum*; where *he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men seated in great state and silence, who neither rose up at the approach of their enemies, nor changed countenance or colour, but leaned upon their slaves, and sat looking upon each other without fear or concern.* The Gauls astonished at so surprising a spectacle, and regarding them as superior beings, for a long time were afraid to approach or touch them. At last one of them ventured to go near Manius Papirius, and advancing his hand gently stroked his beard, which was very long: upon which, Papirius struck him on the head with his staff, and wounded him. The Barbarian then drew his sword

¹ The Romans believed, that, by these voluntary consecrations to the infernal gods, disorder and confusion were brought among the enemy.

² These ivory or *seculi* chairs were used only by those who had borne the most honourable office, and the persons who had a right to sit in them bore also ivory staves.

³ Idry tells us, that the Romans of those times did not much apply themselves to writing, and that the commentaries of the pontifex, and their other monuments, both public and private, were destroyed when the city was burned by the Gauls.

⁴ He lived at that very time; for he was

at first Plato's scholar, and afterwards Aristotle's; and Plato was but 41 years old when Rome was taken.

⁵ The ancients called all the inhabitants of the north *Hyperboreans*, and the Mediterranean the *Great Sea*, to distinguish it from the *Euxine*. Notwithstanding that, Heraclides was right in this: he might be a very fabulous writer: so was Herodotus; and so were the ancient historians of almost all countries: and the reason is obvious; they had little more than tradition to write from.

and killed him. After this, the Gauls fell upon the rest and slew them, and continuing their rage, despatched all that came in their way. Then for many days together they pillaged the houses and carried off the spoil; at last they set fire to the city, and demolished what escaped the flames, to express their liberation against those in the Capitol, who obeyed not their summons, but made a vigorous defence, and greatly annoyed the besiegers from the walls. This it was that provoked them to destroy the whole city, and to dispatch all that fell into their hands, without sparing either sex or age.

As by the length of the siege provisions began to fail the Gauls, they divided their forces, and part stayed with the king before that fortress, while part foraged the country, and laid waste the towns and villages. Their success had inspired them with such confidence, that they did not keep in a body, but carelessly wandered about in different troops and parties. It happened that the largest and best disciplined corps went against Ardea, where Camillus, since his exile, lived in absolute retirement. This great event, however, awakened him into action, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how to keep himself concealed and to avoid the Gauls, but, if an opportunity should offer, to attack and conquer them. Perceiving that the Ardeans were not deficient in numbers, but in courage and discipline, which was owing to the inexperience and inactivity of their officers, he applied first to the young men, and told them, "They ought not to ascribe the defeat of the Romans to the valour of the Gauls, or to consider the calamities they had suffered in the midst of their infatuation, as brought upon them by men who, in fact, could not claim the merit of the victory but as the work of fortune. That it would be glorious, though they risked something by it to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end in conquering was, like fire, to destroy what they subdued: but that if they would assume a proper spirit, he would give them an opportunity to conquer without any hazard at all." When he found the young men were pleased with his discourse, he went next to the magistrates and senate of Ardea; and having persuaded them also to adopt his scheme, he armed all that were of a proper age for it, and drew them up within the walls, that the enemy who were but at a small distance, might not know what he was about.

The Gauls having scoured the country, and loaded themselves with plunder, encamped upon the plains in a careless and disorderly manner. Night found them intoxicated with wine, and silence reigned in the camp. As soon as Camillus was informed of this by his spies, he led the Ardeans out, and having passed the intermediate space without noise, he reached their camp about midnight. Then he ordered a loud shout to be set up, and the trumpets to sound on all sides, to cause the greater confusion; but it was with difficulty they recovered themselves from their sleep and intoxication. A few, whom fear had made sober, snatched up their arms to oppose Camillus, and fell with their weapons in their hands: but the greatest part of them, buried in sleep and wine, were

surprised unarmed, and easily despatched. A small number, that in the night escaped out of the camp, and wandered in the fields, were picked up next day by the cavalry, and put to the sword.

The fame of this action, soon reaching the neighbouring cities, drew out many of their ablest warriors. Particularly such of the Romans as had escaped from the battle of Allia to Veii, lamented with themselves in some such manner as this, "What a general has Heaven taken from Rome in Camillus, to adorn the Ardeans with his exploits? while the city which produced and brought up so great a man is absolutely ruined. And we, for want of a leader, sit idle within the walls of a strange city, and betray the liberties of Italy. Come, then, let us send to the Ardeans to demand our general, or else take our weapons and go to him: for he is no longer an exile, nor we citizens, having no country but what is in possession of an enemy."

This motion was agreed to, and they sent to Camillus to entreat him to accept of the command. But he answered, he could not do it, before he was legally appointed to it, by the Romans in the Capitol. For he looked upon them, while they were in being as the commonwealth, and would readily obey their orders, but without them would not be so officious as to interpose.¹

They admired the modesty and honour of Camillus, but knew not how to send the proposal to the Capitol. It seemed indeed impossible for a messenger to pass into the citadel, whilst the enemy were in possession of the city. However, a young man, named Pontius Cominius, not distinguished by his birth, but fond of glory, readily took upon him the commission. He carried no letters to the citizens in the Capitol, lest, if he should happen to be taken, the enemy should discover by them the intentions of Camillus. Having dressed himself in mean attire, under which he concealed some pieces of cork, he travelled all day without fear, and approached the city as it grew dark. He could not pass the river by the bridge, because it was guarded by the Gauls; and therefore took his clothes, which were neither many nor heavy, and bound them about his head; and having laid himself upon the pieces of cork, easily swam over and reached the city. Then avoiding those quarters where by the lights and noise, he concluded they kept watch, he went to the *Carmental* gate, where there was the greatest silence, and where the hill of the Capitol is the steepest and most craggy. Up this he got unperceived, by a way the most difficult and dreadful, and advanced near the guards, upon the walls. After he had hailed them and told them his name they received him with joy, and conducted him to the magistrates.

The senate was presently assembled, and he acquainted them with the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before,

¹ Livy says, the Roman soldiers at Veii applied to the remains of the senate in the Capitol for leave, before they offered the command to Camillus. so

much regard had those brave men for the constitution of their country, though Rome then lay in ashes. Every private man was indeed a patriot.

as well as with the proceedings of the soldiers at Veii, and exhorted them to confirm Camillus in the command, as the citizens out of Rome would obey none but him. Having heard his report and consulted together, they declared Camillus dictator, and sent Pontius back the same way he came, who was equally fortunate in his return; for he passed the enemy undiscovered, and delivered to the Romans at Veii the decree of the senate, which they received with pleasure.

Camillus, at his arrival, found 20,000 of them in arms, to whom he added a greater number of the allies, and prepared to attack the enemy. Thus was he appointed dictator the second time, and having put himself at the head of the Romans and confederates, he marched out against the Gauls.

Meantime, some of the barbarians, employed in the siege, happening to pass by the place where Pontius had made his way by night up to the Capitol, observed many traces of his feet and hands, as he had worked himself up the rock, torn off what grew there, and tumbled down the mould. Of this they informed the king; who coming and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening he assembled the lightest and most active of his men, who were the likeliest to climb any difficult height, and thus addressed them: "The enemy have themselves shown us a way to reach them, which we were ignorant of, and have proved that this rock is neither inaccessible nor untrodden by human feet. What a shame would it be then, after having made a beginning not to finish; and to quit the place as impregnable, when the Romans themselves have taught us how to take it! Where it was easy for one man to ascend, it cannot be difficult for many, one by one; nay, should many attempt it together, they will find great advantage in assisting each other. In the meantime, I intend great rewards and honours for such as shall distinguish themselves on this occasion."

The Gauls readily embraced the king's proposal, and about midnight a number of them together, began to climb the rock in silence, which, though steep and craggy, proved more practicable than they expected. The foremost, having gained the top, put themselves in order and were ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were fast asleep; for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. However, there were certain *sacred geese* kept near Juno's temple,¹ and at other times plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and the other provisions that remained were scarcely sufficient for the men, they were neglected and in poor condition. This animal is naturally quick of hearing, and soon

¹ Geese were ever after had in honour at Rome, and a flock of them always kept at the expense of the public. A golden image of a goose was erected in memory of them, and a goose every year carried in triumph upon a soft litter;

finely adorned; while dogs were held in abhorrence by the Romans, who every year impaled one of them upon a branch of elder. *P.L.A. & P.L.A. de Fortuna* *Erw.*

alarmed at any noise ; and as hunger kept them waking and uneasy, they immediately perceived the coming of the Gauls, and running at them with all the noise they could make, they awoke all the guards. The barbarians now perceiving they were discovered, advanced with loud shouts and great fury. The Romans in haste snatched up such weapons as came to hand, and acquitted themselves like men on this sudden emergency. First of all, Manlius, a man of consular dignity, remarkable for his strength and extraordinary courage, engaged two Gauls at once : and as one of them was lifting up his battle-axe, with his sword cut off his right hand : at the same time he thrust the boss of his shield in the face of the other, and dashed him down the precipice. Thus standing upon the rampart, with those that had come to his assistance and fought by his side, he drove back the rest of the Gauls that had got up, who were no great number, and who performed nothing worthy of such an attempt. The Romans having thus escaped the danger that threatened them, as soon as it was light, threw the officer that commanded the watch down the rock amongst the enemy, and decreed Manlius a reward for his victory, which had more of honour in it than profit ; for *every man gave him what he had for one day's allowance, which was half a pound of bread and a quartern of the Greek cotyle.*

After this, the Gauls began to lose courage : For provisions were scarce, and they could not forage, for fear of Camillus.¹ Sickness, too, prevailed among them, which took its rise from the heaps of dead bodies, and from their encamping amidst the rubbish of the houses they had burned ; where there was such a quantity of ashes as, when raised by the winds or heated by the sun, by their dry and acrid quality so corrupted the air, that every breath of it was pernicious. But what affected them most was, the change of climate ; for they had lived in countries that abounded with shades and agreeable shelters from the heat, and were now got into grounds that were low and unhealthy in autumn. All this, together with the length and tediousness of the siege, which had now lasted more than six months, caused such desolation among them, and carried off such numbers, that the carcases lay unburied.

The besieged, however, were not in a much better condition. Famine, which now pressed them hard, and their ignorance of what Camillus was doing, caused no small dejection : For the barbarians guarded the city with so much care, that it was impossible to send any messenger to him. Both sides being thus equally discouraged, the advanced guards, who were near enough to converse, first began to talk of treating. As the motion was approved by those that had the chief direction of affairs, Sulpitius, one of the military tribunes, went and conferred with Brennus ; where it was agreed that the Romans should pay 1,000 lbs. weight of gold,² and that the Gauls, upon the receipt of it, should immediately quit the

¹ Camillus being master of the country, posted strong guards on all the roads, and so effectually besieged the Gauls.

² That is, £45,000.

city and its territories. When the conditions were sworn to, and the gold was brought, the Gauls endeavouring to avail themselves of false weights, privately at first, and afterwards openly, drew down their own side of the balance. The Romans expressing their resentment, *Brennus, in a contemptuous and insulting manner, took off his sword, and threw it, belt and all, into the scale: And when Sulpitius asked what that meant, he answered, "What should it mean but woe to the conquered?"* which became a proverbial saying. Some of the Romans were highly incensed at this, and talked of returning with their gold, and enduring the utmost extremities of the siege; but others were of opinion, that it was better to pass by a small injury, since the indignity lay not in paying more than was due, but in paying anything at all; a disgrace only consequent upon the necessity of the times.

While they were thus disputing with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and being informed of what had passed, ordered the main body of his army to advance slowly and in good order, while he with a select band, marched hastily up to the Romans, who all gave place, and received the dictator with respect and silence. Then he took the gold out of the scales and gave it to the *licitors*, and ordered the Gauls to take away the balance and the weights, and to be gone; telling them, *it was the custom of the Romans to deliver their country with steel, not with gold.* And when Brennus expressed his indignation, and complained he had great injustice done him by this infraction of the treaty, Camillus answered, "That it was never lawfully made: nor could it be valid, without his consent, who was dictator and sole magistrate; they had, therefore, acted without proper authority: but they might make their proposals, now he was come, whom the laws had invested with power either to pardon the suppliant or to punish the guilty, if proper satisfaction was not made."

At this, Brennus was still more highly incensed, and a skirmish ensued; swords were drawn on both sides, and thrusts exchanged in a confused manner, which it is easy to conceive must be the case, amidst the ruins of houses and in narrow streets, where there was not room to draw up regularly. Brennus, however, soon recollected himself, and drew off his forces into the camp, with the loss of a small number. In the night, he ordered them to march, and quit the city; and having retreated about eight miles from it, he encamped upon the Gabian road. Early in the morning, Camillus came up with them, his arms dazzling the sight, and his men full of spirits and fire. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long time: at length the Gauls were routed with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Some of those that fled were killed in the pursuit; but the greater part were cut in pieces by the people in the neighbouring towns and villages, who fell upon them as they were dispersed.¹

¹ There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch

copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls as actually receiving

Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered, after it had been seven months in the possession of the barbarians; for they entered it a little after the *Ides*, (July 15), and were driven out about the *Ides* (February 14), following. Camillus returned in triumph, as became the deliverer of his lost country, and the restorer of Rome. Those that had quitted the place before the siege, with their wives and children, now followed his chariot; and they that had been besieged in the Capitol, and were almost perishing with hunger, met the others and embraced them; weeping for joy at this unexpected pleasure, which they almost considered as a dream. The priests and ministers of the gods bringing back with them what holy things they had hid or conveyed away when they fled, afforded a most desirable spectacle to the people; and they gave them the kindest welcome, as if the gods themselves had returned with them to Rome. Next, Camillus sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, in a form dictated by the pontiffs. He rebuilt the former temples, and erected a new one to *Aius Loquutus*, the *speaker*, or *warner*, upon the very spot where the voice from heaven announced in the night to Marcus Ceditius the coming of the barbarians. There was, indeed, no small difficulty in discovering the places where the temples had stood, but it was effected by the zeal of Camillus, and the industry of the priests.

As it was necessary to rebuild the city which was entirely demolished, a heartless despondency seized the multitude, and they invented pretexts of delay. They were in want of all necessary materials, and had more occasion for repose and refreshment after their sufferings, than to labour and wear themselves out, when their bodies were weak and their substance was gone. They had, therefore, a secret attachment to Veii, a city which remained entire, and was provided with everything. This gave a handle to their demagogues to harangue them, as usual, in a way agreeable to their inclinations, and made them listen to seditious speeches against Camillus: "As if, to gratify his ambition and thirst of glory, he would deprive them of a city fit to receive them, force them to pitch their tents among rubbish, and rebuild a ruin that was like one great funeral pile; in order that he might not only be called the general and dictator of Rome, but the founder too, instead of Romulus, whose right he invaded."

On this account, the senate, afraid of an insurrection, would not let Camillus lay down the dictatorship within the year, as he desired, though no other person had ever borne that high office more than six months. In the meantime, they went about to console the people, to gain them by caresses and kind persuasions. One while they showed them the monuments and tombs of their ancestors, then they put them in mind of their temples and holy places,

the gold from the Romans, and returning in safety to their own country; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and

even by Livy himself, in another part of his history, x. 16.

which Romulus, and Numa, and the other kings, had consecrated and left in charge with them. Above all, amidst the sacred and awful symbols, they took care to make them recollect the fresh human head,¹ which was found when the foundations of the Capitol were dug, and which presignified that the same place was destined to be the head of Italy. They urged the disgrace it would be to extinguish again the sacred fire, which the vestals had lighted since the war, and to quit the city; whether they were to see it inhabited by strangers, or a desolate wild for flocks to feed in. In this moving manner the *patrii viri* remonstrated to the people both in public and private; and were in their turn much affected by the distress of the multitude, who lamented their present indigence, and begged of them, now they were collected like the remains of a shipwreck, not to oblige them to patch up the ruins of a desolated city, when there was one entire and ready to receive them.

Camillus, therefore, thought proper to take the judgment of the senate in a body. And when he had exerted his eloquence in favour of his native country, and others had done the same, he put it to the vote, beginning with Lucius Lucretius, whose right it was to vote first, and who was to be followed by the rest in their order. Silence was made; and as Lucretius was about to declare himself, it happened that a centurion, who then commanded the day-guard, as he passed the house called with a loud voice to the ensign, *to stop, and set up his standard there, for that was the best place to stay in*. These words being so seasonably uttered, at a time when they were doubtful and anxious about the event, Lucretius gave thanks to the gods, and embraced the omen, while the rest gladly assented. A wonderful change, at the same time, took place in the minds of the people, who exhorted and encouraged each other in the work, and they began to build immediately, not in any order or upon a regular plan, but as inclination or convenience directed. By reason of this hurry the streets were narrow and intricate, and the houses badly laid out; for they tell us both the walls of the city and the streets were built within the compass of a year.

The persons appointed by Camillus to search for and mark out the holy places, found all in confusion. As they were looking round the *palatium*, they came to the court of *Mars*, where the buildings, like the rest, were burned and demolished by the barbarians; but in removing the rubbish and cleaning the place, they discovered, under a great heap of ashes, the augural staff of Romulus. This staff is crooked at one end, and called *lituus*. It is used in marking out the several quarters of the heavens, in any

¹ This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin the proud, who undoubtedly must have put the head there on purpose; for, in digging the foundation, it was found warm and bleeding, as if just severed from the body. Upon this the

Romans sent to consult the Tuscan sooth-sayers, who, after vainly endeavouring to bring the presage to favour their own country, acknowledged that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy. DIONYS. HAL. lib. iv.

process of divination by the flight of birds, which Romulus was much skilled in and made great use of. When he was taken out of the world, the priests carefully preserved the staff from defilement, like other holy relics : and this having escaped the fire, when the rest were consumed, they indulged a pleasing hope, and considered it as a presage, that Rome would last for ever.¹

Before they had finished the laborious task of building, a new war broke out. The Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins, all at once invaded their territories, and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a city in alliance with Rome. The military tribunes, too, who commanded the army, being surrounded by the Latins near Mount Marcius, and their camp in great danger, sent to Rome to desire succours ; on which occasion Camillus was appointed dictator the third time.

Of this war there are two different accounts : I begin with the fabulous one. It is said, the Latins either seeking a pretence for war, or really inclined to renew their ancient affinity with the Romans, sent to demand of them a number of freeborn virgins in marriage. The Romans were in no small perplexity as to the course they should take. For, on the one hand, they were afraid of war, as they were not yet re-established, nor had recovered their losses ; and on the other, they suspected that the Latins only wanted their daughters for hostages, though they coloured their design with the specious name of marriage. While they were thus embarrassed, a female slave, named Tutula,² or, as some call her, Philotis, advised the magistrates to send with her some of the handsomest and most genteel of the maid-servants, dressed like virgins of good families, and leave the rest to her. The magistrates approving the expedient, chose a number of female slaves proper for her purpose, and sent them richly attired to the Latin camp, which was not far from the city. At night, while the other slaves conveyed away the enemies' swords, Tutula or Philotis got up into a wild fig-tree of considerable height, and having spread a thick garment behind, to conceal her design from the Latins, held up a torch towards Rome, which was the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates, who alone were in the secret. For this reason the soldiers sallied out in a tumultuous manner, calling upon each other, and hastened by their officers who found it difficult to bring them into any order. They made themselves masters, however, of the entrenchments, and as the enemy, expecting no such attempt, were asleep, they took the camp, and put the greatest part

¹ About this time, the tribunes of the people determined to impeach Q. Fabius, who had violated the law of nations, and thereby provoked the Gauls, and occasioned the burning of Rome. His crime being notorious, he was summoned by C. Martius Rutilius before the assembly of the people to answer for his conduct in the embassy. The criminal had reason

to fear the severest punishment : but his relations gave out that he died suddenly ; which generally happened when the accused person had courage enough to prevent his condemnation, and the shame of a public punishment.

² In the life of Romulus she is called *Tutula*. Macrobius calls her *Tutela*.

of them to the sword. This happened on the *Nones*, July 7th, then called *Quintillis*. And on that day they celebrate a feast in memory of this action. In the first place, they sally in a crowding and disorderly manner out of the city, pronouncing aloud the most familiar and common names, as Caius, Marcus, Lucius, and the like; by which they imitate the soldiers then calling upon each other in their hurry. Next, the maid-servants walk about, elegantly dressed, and jesting on all they meet. They have also a kind of fight among themselves, to express the assistance they gave in the engagement with the Latins. Then they sit down to an entertainment, shaded with branches of the fig tree: and that day is called *Nona Capratina*, as some suppose, on account of the wild fig-tree, from which the maid-servant held out the torch; for the Romans call that tree *caprificus*. Others refer the greatest part of what is said and done on that occasion to that part of the story of Romulus when he disappeared, and the darkness and tempest, or, as some imagine, an eclipse happened. It was on the same day, at least, and the day might be called *Nona Capratina*; for the Romans call a goat *Capra*; and Romulus vanished out of sight while he was holding an assembly of the people at the *Goat's Marsh*.

The other account that is given of this war, and approved by most historians, is as follows. Camillus being appointed dictator the third time, and knowing that the army under the military tribunes was surrounded by the Latins and Volscians, was constrained to make levies among such as age had exempted from service. With these he fetched a large compass about Mount Marcius, and unperceived by the enemy posted his army behind them; and by lighting many fires signified his arrival. The Romans that were besieged in their camp, being encouraged by this, resolved to sally out and join battle. But the Latins and Volscians kept close within their works, drawing a line of circumvallation with palisades, because they had the enemy on both sides, and resolving to wait for reinforcements from home, as well as for the Tuscan succours.

Camillus, perceiving this, and fearing that the enemy might surround him as he had surrounded them, hastened to make use of the present opportunity. As the works of the confederates consisted of wood, and the wind used to blow hard from the mountains at sun rising, he provided a great quantity of combustible matter, and drew out his forces at daybreak. Part of them he ordered with loud shouts and missive weapons to begin the attack on the opposite side; while he himself, at the head of those that were charged with the fire, watched the proper minute, on that side of the works where the wind used to blow directly. When the sun was risen the wind blew violently; and the attack being begun on the other side, he gave the signal to his own party, who poured a vast quantity of fiery darts and other burning matter into the enemy's fortifications. As the flame soon caught hold, and was fed by the palisades and other timber, it spread itself into all quarters; and the Latins not being provided with any means of extinguishing it, the camp was almost full of fire, and they were reduced to a small spot of ground

At last they were forced to bear down upon that body who were posted before the camp and ready to receive them sword in hand. Consequently very few of them escaped; and those that remained in the camp were destroyed by the flames, till the Romans extinguished them for the sake of the plunder.

After this exploit, he left his son Lucius in the camp to guard the prisoners and the booty, while he himself penetrated into the enemy's country. There he took the city of the Æqui and reduced the Volsci, and then led his army to Sutrium, whose fate he was not yet apprised of, and which he hoped to relieve by fighting the Tuscans who had sat down before it. But the Sutrians had already surrendered their town, with the loss of every thing but the clothes they had on: and in this condition he met them by the way, with their wives and children, bewailing their misfortunes. Camillus was extremely moved at so sad a spectacle; and perceiving that the Romans wept with pity at the affecting entreaties of the Sutrians, he determined not to defer his revenge, but to march to Sutrium that very day; concluding that men who had just taken an opulent city, where they had not left one enemy, and who expected none from any other quarter, would be found in disorder and off their guard. Nor was he mistaken in his judgment. He not only passed through the country undiscovered, but approached the gates and got possession of the walls before they were aware. Indeed there was none to guard them; for all were engaged in festivity and dissipation. Nay, even when they perceived that the enemy were masters of the town, they were so overcome by their indulgences, that few endeavoured to escape; they were either slain in their houses, or surrendered themselves to the conquerors. Thus the city of Sutrium being twice taken in one day, the new possessors were expelled, and the old ones restored, by Camillus.

By the triumph decreed him on this occasion, he gained no less credit and honour than by the two former. For those of the citizens that envied him, and were desirous to attribute his successes rather to fortune than to his valour and conduct, were compelled by these last actions, to allow his great abilities and application. Among those that opposed him and detracted from his merit, the most considerable was Marcus Manlius, who was the first that repulsed the Gauls, when they attempted the Capitol by night, and on that account was surnamed *Capitolinus*. He was ambitious to be the greatest man in Rome, and as he could not by fair means outstrip Camillus in the race of honour, he took the common road to absolute power by courting the populace, particularly those that were in debt. Some of the latter he defended, by pleading their causes against their creditors; and others he rescued, forcibly preventing their being dealt with according to law. So that he soon got a number of indigent persons about him, who became formidable to the patricians by their insolent and riotous behaviour in the *forum*.

In this exigency they appointed Cornelius Cossus dictator, who named Titus Quintius Capitolinus his general of horse; and by

this supreme magistrate Manlius was committed to prison : on which occasion the people went into mourning ; a thing never used but in time of great and public calamities. The senate, therefore, afraid of an insurrection, ordered him to be released. But when set at liberty, instead of altering his conduct, he grew more insolent and troublesome, and filled the whole city with faction and sedition. At that time Camillus was again created a military tribune, and Manlius taken and brought to his trial. But the fight of the Capitol was a great disadvantage to those that carried on the impeachment. The place where Manlius by night maintained the fight against the Gauls, was seen from the *forum* ; and all who attended were moved with compassion at his stretching out his hands towards that place, and begging them with tears to remember his achievements. The judges of course were greatly embarrassed, and often adjourned the court, not choosing to acquit him after such clear proofs of his crime, nor yet able to carry the laws into execution in a place which continually reminded the people of his services. Camillus, sensible of this, removed the tribunal without the gate, into the Peteline Grove, where there was no prospect of the Capitol. There the prosecutor brought his charge, and the remembrance of his former bravery gave way to the sense which his judges had of his present crimes. Manlius, therefore, was condemned, carried to the Capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock. Thus the same place was the monument both of his glory and his unfortunate end. The Romans, moreover, razed his house, and built there a temple to the goddess *Moneta*. They decreed likewise that for the future no *patrician* should ever dwell in the Capitol.¹

Camillus, who was now nominated military tribune the sixth time, declined that honour. For, besides that he was of an advanced age, he was apprehensive of the effects of envy and of some change of fortune, after so much glory and success. But the excuse he most insisted on in public, was, the state of his health, which at that time was infirm. The people, however, refusing to accept of that excuse, cried out, " They did not desire him to fight either on horseback or on foot ; they only wanted his counsel and his orders." Thus they forced him to take the office upon him, and together with Lucius Furius Medullinus, one of his colleagues, to march immediately against the enemy.

¹ Least the advantageous situation of a fortress, that commanded the whole city, should suggest and facilitate the design of enslaving it. For Manlius was accused of aiming at the sovereign power. His fate may serve as a warning to all ambitious men who want to rise on the ruins of their country ; for he could not escape or find mercy with the people, though he produced above 400 *clabellians*, whose debts he had paid ; though he showed 30 *units* of armour, the spoils of 30 enemies, whom he had slain in single combat ; though he

had received 40 honorary rewards, among which were two mural and eight olive crowns (C. Servilius, when general of the horse, being of the number of citizens whose lives he had saved) ; and though he had crowned all with the preservation of the Capitol. So inconstant, however, is the multitude, that Manlius was scarce dead, when his loss was generally lamented, and a *placatus*, which soon followed, ascribed to the anger of Jupiter against the authors of his death.

These were the people of Præneste and the Volsci, who with a considerable army were laying waste the country in alliance with Rome. Camillus, therefore, went and encamped over against them, intending to prolong the war, that if there should be any necessity for a battle, he might be sufficiently recovered to do his part. But as his colleague Lucius, too ambitious of glory, was violently and indiscreetly bent upon fighting, and inspired the other officers with the same ardour, he was afraid it might be thought that through envy he withheld from the young officers the opportunity to distinguish themselves. For this reason he agreed, though with great reluctance, that Lucius should draw out the forces, whilst he, on account of his sickness,¹ remained with a handful of men in the camp. But when he perceived that Lucius, who engaged in a rash and precipitate manner, was defeated, and the Romans put to flight, he could not contain himself, but leaped from his bed, and went with his retinue to the gates of the camp. There he forced his way through the fugitives up to the pursuers, and made so good a stand, that those who had fled to the camp soon returned to the charge, and others that were retreating rallied and placed themselves about him, exhorting each other not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy were stopped in the pursuit. Next day he marched out at the head of his army, entirely routed the confederates in a pitched battle, and entering their camp along with them, cut most of them in pieces.

After this, being informed that Satricum, a Roman colony, was taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants put to the sword, he sent home the main body of his forces, which consisted of the heavy-armed, and with a select band of light and spirited young men, fell upon the Tuscans that were in possession of the city, some of whom he put to the sword, and the rest were driven out.

Returning to Rome with great spoils, he gave a signal evidence of the good sense of the Roman people, who entertained no fears on account of the ill health or age of a general that was not deficient in courage or experience, but made choice of him, infirm and reluctant as he was, rather than of those young men that wanted and solicited the command. Hence it was, that upon the news of the revolt of the Tusculans, Camillus was ordered to march against them, and to take with him only one of his five colleagues. Though they all desired and made interest for the commission, yet, passing the rest by, he pitched upon Lucius Furius, contrary to the general expectation : for this was the man who but just before, against the opinion of Camillus, was so eager to engage, and lost the battle. Yet, willing, it seems, to draw a veil over his misfortune and to wipe off his disgrace, he was generous enough to give him the preference.²

¹ Livy says, he placed himself on an eminence, with a *corps de reserve*, to observe the success of the battle.

² This choice of Camillus had a different motive from what Plutarch mentions.

He knew that Furius, who had felt the ill effects of a precipitate conduct would be the first man to avoid such a conduct for the future.

When the Tusculans perceived that Camillus was coming against them, they attempted to correct their error by artful management. They filled the fields with husbandmen and shepherds, as in time of profound peace; they left their gates open, and sent their children to school as before. The tradesmen were found in their shops employed in their respective callings, and the better sort of citizens walking in the public places in their usual dress. Meanwhile the magistrates were busily passing to and fro, to order quarters for the Romans; as if they expected no danger and were conscious of no fault. Though these arts could not alter the opinion Camillus had of their revolt, yet their repentance disposed him to compassion. He ordered them, therefore, to go to the senate of Rome and beg pardon: and when they appeared there as suppliants, he used his interest to procure their forgiveness, and a grant of the privileges of Roman citizens¹ besides. These were the principal actions of his sixth tribuneship.

After this, Licinius Stolo raised a great sedition in the state; putting himself at the head of the people, who insisted that of the two consuls one should be a plebeian. Tribunes of the people were appointed, but the multitude would suffer no election of consuls to be held.² As this want of chief magistrates was likely to bring on still greater troubles, the senate created Camillus dictator the fourth time against the consent of the people, and not even agreeable to his own inclination.³ For he was unwilling to set himself against those persons who, having been often led on by him to conquest, could with great truth affirm, that he had more concern with them in the military way than with the patricians in the civil; and at the same time was sensible that the envy of those very patricians induced them now to promote him to that high station, that he might oppress the people if he succeeded, or be ruined by them if he failed in his attempt. He attempted, however, to obviate the present danger, and as he knew the day on which the tribunes intended to propose their law, he published a general muster, and summoned the people from the *forum* into the field, threatening to set heavy fines upon those that should not obey. On the other

¹ He was only a Roman citizen, in the most extensive signification of the words, who had a right of living on houses in Rome, of giving his vote in the *Comitia*, and of standing candidate for any office; and who, consequently, was incorporated into one of the tribes. The freedmen in the times of the republic were excluded from dignities; and of the municipal towns and Roman colonies, which enjoyed the right of citizenship, some had, and some had not, the right of suffrage and of promotion to offices in Rome.

² This confusion lasted five years; during which the tribunes of the people prevented the *Comitia* from being held, which were necessary for the election of the chief magistrates. It was occasioned

by a trifling accident. Fabius Ambustus having married his eldest daughter to Servius Sulpicius, a patrician, and at this time military tribune, and the younger to Licinius Stolo, a rich plebeian; it happened that while the younger sister was paying a visit to the elder, Sulpicius came home from the forum, and his lictors, with the staff of the fasces, thundered at the door. The younger sister being frightened at the noise, the elder laughed at her, as a person quite ignorant of high life. This affront greatly afflicted her; and her father, to comfort her, bid her not be uneasy, for she should soon see as much state at her own house as had surprised her at her sister's.

- of Rome 288.

hand, the tribunes of the people opposed him with menaces, solemnly protesting they would fine him 50,000 *drachmas*, if he did not permit the people to put their bill to the vote. Whether it was that he was afraid of a second condemnation and banishment, which would but ill suit him, now he was grown old and covered with glory, or whether he thought he could not get the better of the people, whose violence was equal to their power, for the present he retired to his own house; and soon after, under pretence of sickness, resigned the dictatorship.¹ The senate appointed another dictator, who having named for his general of horse that very Stolo who was leader of the sedition, suffered a law to be made that was extremely disagreeable to the patricians. It provided that no person whatsoever should possess more than 500 acres of land. Stolo having carried his point with the people, flourished greatly for a while: but not long after, being convicted of possessing more than the limited number of acres, he suffered the penalties of his own law.²

The most difficult part of the dispute, and that which they began with, namely, concerning the election of consuls, remained still unsettled, and continued to give the senate great uneasiness; when certain information was brought that the Gauls were marching again from the coasts of the Adriatic, with an immense army towards Rome. With this news came an account of the usual effects of war, the country laid waste, and such of the inhabitants as could not take refuge in Rome dispersed about the mountains. The terror of this put a stop to the sedition; and the most popular of the senators uniting with the people, with one voice created Camillus dictator the fifth time. He was now very old, wanting little of fourscore; yet, seeing the necessity and danger of the times, he was willing to risk all inconveniences; and, without alleging any excuse, immediately took upon him the command, and made the levies. As he knew the chief force of the barbarians lay in their swords, which they managed without art or skill, furiously rushing in, and aiming chiefly at the head and shoulders, he furnished most of his men with hemlets of well polished iron, that the swords might either break or glance aside; and round the borders of their shields he drew a plate of brass, because the wood of itself could not resist the strokes. Beside this, he taught them to avail themselves of long pikes, by pushing with which they might prevent the effect of the enemy's swords.

When the Gauls were arrived at the river Anio with their army, encumbered with the vast booty they had made, Camillus drew out his forces, and posted them upon a hill of easy ascent, in which

¹ He pretended to find something amiss in the auspices which were taken when he was appointed.

² It was eleven years after he had been fined 50,000 sesterces for being

possessed of 1,000 acres of land, in conjunction with his son, whom he had emancipated for that purpose. Liv. lib. vi. c. 11.

were many hollows, sufficient to conceal the greatest part of his men, while those that were in sight should seem through fear to have taken advantage of the higher grounds. And the more to fix this opinion in the Gauls, he opposed not the depredations committed in his sight, but remained quietly in the camp he had fortified, while he beheld part of them dispersed in order to plunder, and part indulging themselves, day and night, in drinking and revelling. At last, he sent out the light-armed infantry before day, to prevent the enemy's drawing up in a regular manner, and to harass them by sudden skirmishing as they issued out of their trenches; and as soon as it was light he led down the heavy-armed, and put them in battle-array upon the plain, neither few in number nor disheartened, as the Gauls expected, but numerous and full of spirits.

This was the first thing that shook their resolution, for they considered it as a disgrace to have the Romans the aggressors. Then the light-armed falling upon them before they could get into order and rank themselves by companies, pressed them so warmly, that they were obliged to come in great confusion to the engagement. Last of all, Camillus leading on the heavy-armed, the Gauls with brandished swords hastened to fight hand to hand; but the Romans meeting their strokes with their pikes, and receiving them on that part that was guarded with iron, so turned their swords, which were thin and soft tempered, that they were soon bent almost double: and their shields were pierced and weighed down with the pikes that stuck in them. They, therefore, quitted their own arms, and endeavoured to seize those of the enemy, and to wrest their pikes from them. The Romans seeing them naked, now began to make use of their swords, and made great carnage among the foremost ranks. Meantime the rest took to flight, and were scattered along the plain; for Camillus had beforehand secured the heights; and as, in confidence of victory, they had left their camp unfortified, they knew it would be taken with ease.

This battle is said to have been fought thirteen years after the taking of Rome;¹ and, in consequence of this success, the Romans laid aside, for the future, the dismal apprehensions they had entertained of the barbarians. They had imagined, it seems, that the former victory they had gained over the Gauls, was owing to the sickness that prevailed in their army, and to other unforeseen accidents, rather than to their own valour: and so great had their terror been formerly, that they had made a law, *that the priests should be exempted from military service, except in case of an invasion from the Gauls.*

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits. For the taking of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, and it sur-rendered without the least resistance. But the greatest conflict he ever experienced in the state, still remained: for the people were

¹ This battle was fought, not 13, but 23 years after the taking of Rome.

harder to deal with since they returned victorious, and they insisted that one of the consuls should be chosen out of their body, contrary to the present constitution. The senate opposed them, and would not suffer Camillus to resign the dictatorship, thinking they could better defend the rights of the nobility under the sanction of his supreme authority. But one day, as Camillus was sitting in the *forum*, and employed in the distribution of justice, an officer sent by the tribunes of the people, ordered him to follow him, and laid his hand upon him, as if he would seize and carry him away. Upon this such a noise and tumult was raised in the assembly, as never had been known; *those that were about Camillus thrusting the plebeian officer down from the tribunal, and the populace calling out to drag the dictator from his seat.* In this case Camillus was much embarrassed; he did not, however, resign the dictatorship, but led off the patricians to the senate-house. Before he entered it, he turned towards the Capitol, and prayed to the gods to put a happy end to the present disturbances, solemnly vowing to build a temple to *Concord*, when the tumult should be over.

In the senate there was a diversity of opinions and great debates. Mild and popular counsels, however, prevailed, which allowed one of the consuls to be a plebeian.¹ When the dictator announced this decree to the people, they received it with great satisfaction, as it was natural they should; they were immediately reconciled to the senate, and conducted Camillus home with great applause. Next day the people assembled, and voted that the temple which Camillus had vowed to *Concord*, should, on account of this great event, be built on a spot that fronted the *forum* and place of assembly. To those feasts which are called *latin* they added one day more, so that the whole was to consist of four days; and for the present they ordained that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility and Lucius Sextius from the commonalty, the first plebeian that ever attained that honour.

This was the last of Camillus's transactions. The year following, a pestilence visited Rome, which carried off a prodigious number of the people, most of the magistrates, and Camillus himself. His death could not be deemed premature, on account of his great age and the offices he had borne, yet he was more lamented than all the rest of the citizens who died of that distemper.

¹ The people having gained this point, the consulate was revived, and the military tribuneship laid aside for ever. But at the same time the patricians procured the great privilege that a new officer, called *prætor*, should be appointed, who was to be always one of their body. The consuls had been generous of the Roman armies, and at the same time judges of civil affairs, but as they were often in the

field, it was thought proper to separate the latter branch from their office, and appropriate it to a judge with the title of *prætor*, who was to be next in dignity to the consuls. About the year of Rome 501, another *prætor* was appointed to decide the differences among foreigners. Upon the taking of Sicily and Sardinia two more *prætors* were created, and as many more upon the conquest of Spain.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

THE first Fabius was the son of Hercules by one of the nymphs, according to some authors; or, as others say, by a woman of the country, near the river Tiber. From him came the family of the Fabii, one of the most numerous and illustrious in Rome.¹ Yet some authors write, that the first founders of this family were called *Fodii*,² on account of their catching wild beasts by means of pits; for a *pit* is still in Latin called *fovea*, and the word *fodere*, signifies *to dig*: but in time, two letters being changed, they had the name of *Fabii*. This family produced many eminent men, the most considerable of whom was *Kullus*,³ by the Romans surnamed *Maximus*, or *the Great*, and from him the Fabius Maximus of whom we are writing, was the fourth in descent.

This last had the surname of *Verrucosus*, from a small wart on his upper lip. He was likewise called *Ovicula*,⁴ from the mildness and gravity of his behaviour when a boy. Nay, his composed demeanour, and his silence, his caution in engaging in the diversions of the other boys, the slowness and difficulty with which he took what was taught him, together with the submissive manner in which he complied with the proposals of his comrades, brought him under the suspicion of stupidity and foolishness, with those that did not thoroughly know him. Yet a few there were who perceived that his composedness was owing to the solidity of his parts, and who discerned withal a magnanimity and lion-like courage in his nature. In a short time, when application to business drew him out, it was obvious even to the many, that his seeming inactivity was a command which he had of his passions, that his cautiousness was prudence, and that what had passed for heaviness and insensibility, was really an immoveable firmness of soul. He saw what an important concern the administration was, and in what wars the republic was frequently engaged, and, therefore, by exercise pre-

¹ The most numerous, for that family alone undertook the war against the Volentes, and sent out 300 persons of their own name, who were all slain in that expedition. It was likewise one of the most illustrious; for the Fabii had borne the highest offices in the state, and two of them had been seven times consul.

² Pliny's account of the matter is much more probable, viz., that they were called *Fabii* or *Fabie*, from their skill in raising beans; as several other families of note among the Romans were denominated from other branches of husbandry. In-

deed, their first heroes tilled the ground with their own hands.

³ This Pavidus Illius was five times consul, and gained several important victories over the Samnites, Tuscani, and other nations. It was not, however, from these great actions, that he obtained the surname of *Maximus*, but from his behaviour in the Censorship; during which he reduced the populace of Rome into four tribes, who before were dispersed among all the tribes in general, and by that means had very great power in the assemblies. These were called *Tribus Urbanae*. Liv. lib. ix. cap. 48.

⁴ *Ovicula* signifies a little sheep.

pared his body, considering its strength as a natural armour; at the same time, he improved his powers of persuasion, as the engines by which the people are to be moved, adapting them to the manner of his life. For in his eloquence there was nothing of affectation, no empty, plausible elegance, but it was full of that good sense which was peculiar to him, and had a sententious force and depth, said to have resembled that of Thucydides. There is an oration of his still extant, which he delivered before the people, on occasion of his son's funeral, who died after he had been consul.

Fabius Maximus was five times consul;¹ and in his first consulship was honoured with a triumph for the victory he gained over the Ligurians; who, being defeated by him in a set battle, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven behind the Alps, and kept from such inroads and ravages as they had used to make in the neighbouring provinces.

Some years after, Hannibal, having invaded Italy² and gained the battle of Trebia, advanced through Tuscany, laying waste the country, and striking Rome itself with terror and astonishment. This desolation was announced by signs and prodigies, some familiar to the Romans, as that of thunder, for instance, and others quite strange and unaccountable. For it was said, that certain shields sweated blood, that bloody corn was cut at Antium, that red-hot stones fell from the air, that the Falerians saw the heavens open, and many billets fall,³ upon one of which these words were very legible: *Mars brandisheth his arms*. But Caius Flaminius, then consul, was not discouraged by any of these things. He was indeed naturally a man of much fire and ambition, and, besides, was elated by former successes, which he had met with contrary to all probability: for against the sense of the senate and his colleague, he had engaged with the Gauls and beaten them. Fabius likewise paid but little regard to prodigies,⁴ as too absurd to be believed,

¹ Fabius was consul the first time in the year of Rome 521; and the fifth time in the tenth year of the second Punic war, in the year of Rome 545.

² Here Plutarch leaves a void of 15 years. It was not, indeed, a remarkable period of the life of Fabius. Hannibal entered Italy in the year of Rome 535. He defeated Scipio in the battle of Ticinus, before he beat Hempronius in that of Trebia.

³ Plutarch misunderstood Livy, and of the two prodigies which he mentions, made but one. Livy says, "At Falerium the sky was seen to open, and in the void space a great light appeared. The lots at Frimeste shrunk of their own accord, and one of them dropped down, whereon was written, '*Mars brandisheth his sword*.'" Liv. lib. xxii.—These lots were bits of oak, handsomely wrought, with some ancient characters inscribed upon them. When any came to consult them,

the coffer in which they were kept was opened, and a child having first shaken them together, drew out one from the rest, which contained the answer to the querist's demand. As to the lots being shrunk, which Livy mentions, and which was considered as a bad omen, no doubt the priests had two sets, a smaller and a greater, which they played upon the people's superstition as they pleased. Cicero says they were very little regarded in his time. *Cic. de Divinat.* lib. ii.

⁴ If Fabius was not moved by those prodigies, it was not because he despised them (as his colleague did, who, according to Livy, neither feared the gods nor took advice of men), but because he hoped, by appeasing the anger of the gods, to render the prodigies ineffectual. It was not Fabius, however, but Cn. Servilius Geminus, who was colleague to Flaminius.

notwithstanding the great effect they had upon the multitude. But being informed how small the numbers of the enemy were, and of the want of money, he advised the Romans to have patience; not to give battle to a man who led on an army hardened by many conflicts for this very purpose; but to send succours to their allies, and to secure the towns that were in their possession, until the vigour of the enemy expired of itself, like a flame for want of fuel.

He could not, however, prevail upon Flaminius. That general declared he would never suffer the war to approach Rome, nor like Camillus of old, dispute within the walls who should be the master of the city. He, therefore, ordered the tribunes to draw out the forces, and mounted his horse, but was thrown headlong off,¹ the horse, without any visible cause, being seized with a fright and trembling. Yet he persisted in his resolution of marching out to meet Hannibal, and drew up his army near the lake called Thrasymenus (now the lake of Perugia), in Tuscany.

While the armies were engaged, there happened an earthquake, which overturned whole cities, changed the course of rivers, and tore off the tops of mountains; yet not one of the combatants was in the least sensible of that violent motion. Flaminius himself, having greatly signalized his strength and valour, fell; and with him the bravest of his troops; the rest being routed, a great carnage ensued: full 15,000 were slain, and as many taken prisoners.² Hannibal was very desirous of discovering the body of Flaminius, that he might bury it with due honour, as a tribute to his bravery, but he could not find it, nor could any account be given what became of it.

When the Romans lost the battle of Trebia, neither the generals sent a true account of it, nor the messenger represented it as it was: both pretended the victory was doubtful. But as to the last, as soon as the prætor Pomponius was apprised of it, he assembled the people, and without disguising the matter in the least, made this declaration. "Romans! we have lost a great battle; our army is cut to pieces, and Flaminius the consul is slain; think, therefore, what is to be done for your safety." The same commotion which

¹ This fall from his horse, which was considered as an ill omen, was followed by another as bad. When the ensign attempted to pull his standard out of the ground in order to march, he had not strength enough to do it. But where is the wonder, says Cicero, to have a horse take fright, or to find a standard-bearer feebly endeavouring to draw up the standard, which he had perhaps purposely struck deep into the ground?

² Notwithstanding this complete victory, Hannibal lost only 1,500 men; for he fought the Romans at great advantage, having drawn them into an ambuscade

between the hills of Cortona and the lake Thrasymenus. Livy and Valerius Maximus make the number of prisoners only 6,000; but Polybius says they were much more numerous. About 10,000 Romans, most of them wounded, made their escape, and took their route to Rome, where few of them arrived, the rest dying of their wounds before they reached the capital. Two mothers were so transported with joy, one at the gate of the city, when she saw her son unexpectedly appear, and the other at home, where she found her son, that they both expired on the spot.

a furious wind causes in the ocean, did these words of the prætor produce in so vast a multitude. In the first consternation they could not fix upon any thing : but at length, all agreed that affairs required the direction of an absolute power, which they called the dictatorship, and that a man should be pitched upon for it, who would exercise it with steadiness and intrepidity. That such a man was Fabius Maximus, who had a spirit and dignity of manners equal to so great a command, and, besides, was of an age in which the vigour of the body is sufficient to execute the purposes of the mind, and courage is tempered with prudence.

Pursuant to these resolutions, Fabius was chosen dictator,¹ and he appointed Lucius Minucius his general of the horse.² But first *he desired permission of the senate to make use of a horse when in the field. This was forbidden by an ancient law*, either because they placed their greatest strength in the infantry, and therefore chose that the commander in chief should be always posted among them ; or else because they would have the dictator, whose power in all other respects was very great, and, indeed, arbitrary, in this case at least appear to be dependent upon the people. In the next place, Fabius, willing to show the high authority and grandeur of his office, in order to make the people more tractable and submissive appeared in public with 24 *lictors* carrying the *fascæ* before him ; and when the surviving consul met him, he sent one of his officers to order him to dismiss his *lictors* and the other ensigns of his employment, and to join him as a private man.

Then *beginning with an act of religion, which is the best of all beginnings*, and assuring the people that their defeats were not owing to the cowardice of the soldiers, but to the general's neglect of the sacred rites and auspices, he exhorted them to entertain no dread of the enemy, but by extraordinary honours to propitiate the gods. Not that he wanted to infuse into them a spirit of superstition, but to confirm their valour by piety, and to deliver them from every other fear, by a sense of the Divine protection. On that occasion he consulted several of those mysterious books of the Sibyls, which contained matters of great use to the state ; and it is said, that some of the prophecies found there, perfectly agreed with the circumstances of those times : but it was not lawful to divulge them. However, in full assembly, he vowed to the gods a *ver sacrum*, *that is, all the young which the next spring should produce*, on the mountains, the fields, the rivers, and meadows of Italy, from the goats, the swine, the sheep, and the cows. He likewise vowed to exhibit the great games in honour of the gods, and to expend upon those games 333,000 *sesterces*, 333 *denarii*, and one third of a

¹ A dictator could not be regularly named but by the surviving consul, and Servilius being with the army, the people appointed Fabius by their own authority, with the title of prodictator. However, the gratitude of Rome allowed his descen-

dants to put dictator instead of prodictator in the list of his titles.

² According to Polybius and Livy, his name was not Lucius, but Marcus Minucius ; nor was he pitched upon by Fabius, but by the people.

denarius; which sum in our Greek money is 83,583 *drachmas* and two *oboli*. What his reason might be for fixing upon that precise number is not easy to determine, unless it were on account of the perfection of the number three, as being the first of odd numbers, the first of plurals, and containing in itself the first differences, and the first elements of all numbers.

Fabius having taught the people to repose themselves on acts of religion, made them more easy as to future events. For his own part, he placed all his hopes of victory in himself, believing that *Heaven blesses men with success on account of their virtue and prudence*; and therefore he watched the motions of Hannibal, not with a design to give him battle, but by length of time to waste his spirit and vigour, and gradually to destroy him by means of his superiority in men and money. To secure himself against the enemy's horse, he took care to encamp above them on high and mountainous places. When they sat still he did the same; when they were in motion he showed himself upon the heights, at such a distance as not to be obliged to fight against his inclination, and yet near enough to keep them in perpetual alarm, as if, amidst his arts to gain time, he intended every moment to give them battle.

These dilatory proceedings exposed him to contempt among the Romans in general, and even in his own army. The enemy too, excepting Hannibal, thought him a man of no spirit. He alone was sensible of the keenness of Fabius, and of the manner in which he intended to carry on the war, and therefore was determined, if possible, either by stratagem or force, to bring him to battle, concluding that otherwise the Carthaginians must be undone: since they could not decide the matter in the field, where they had the advantage, but must gradually wear away and be reduced to nothing, when the dispute was only who should be superior in men and money. Hence it was that *he exhausted the whole art of war*; like a skilful wrestler, who watches every opportunity to lay hold of his adversary. Sometimes he advanced and alarmed him with the apprehensions of an attack; sometimes by marching and countermarching he led him from place to place, hoping to draw him from his plan of caution. But as he was fully persuaded of its utility, he kept immovably to his resolution. Minucius, his general of horse, gave him, however, no small trouble, by his unseasonable courage and heat, haranguing the army, and filling them with a furious desire to come to action, and a vain confidence of success. Thus the soldiers were brought to despise Fabius, and by way of derision to call him the *pedagogue* of Hannibal,¹ while they extolled Minucius as a great man, and one that acted up to the dignity of Rome. This led Minucius to give a freer scope to his arrogance and pride, and to ridicule the dictator for encamping constantly upon the mountains, "As if he did it on purpose that his men might more

¹ For the office of a *pedagogue* of old was (as the name implies) to attend the

children, to carry them up and down and conduct them home again.

clearly behold Italy laid waste with fire and sword." And he asked the friends of Fabius, "Whether he intended to take his army up into heaven, as he had bid adieu to the world below, or whether he would screen himself from the enemy with clouds and fogs?" When the dictator's friends brought him an account of these aspersions, and exhorted him to wipe them off by risking a battle, "In that case," said he, "I should be of a more dastardly spirit than they represent me, if through fear of insults and reproaches, I should depart from my own resolution. But *to fear for my country is not a disagreeable fear*. That man is unworthy of such a command as this, who sinks under calumnies and slanders, and complies with the humour of those whom he ought to govern, and whose folly and rashness it is his duty to restrain."

After this, Hannibal made a disagreeable mistake. For intending to lead his army farther from Fabius, and to move into a part of the country that would afford him forage, he ordered the guides, immediately after supper to conduct him to the plains of Casinum.¹ They taking the word wrong, by reason of his *barbarous* pronunciation of it, led his forces to the borders of Campania, near the town of Casalium, through which runs the river Lathronus which the Romans call Volturnus. The adjacent country is surrounded with mountains, except only a valley that stretches out to the sea. Near the sea the ground is very marshy, and full of large banks of sand, by reason of the overflowing of the river. The sea is there very rough and the coast almost impracticable.

As soon as Hannibal was entered into this valley, Fabius availing himself of his knowledge of the country, seized the narrow outlet, and placed in it a guard of 4000 men. The main body of his army he posted to advantage on the surrounding hills, and with the lightest and most active of his troops, fell upon the enemy's rear, and put their whole army in disorder, and killed about 800 of them.

Hannibal then wanted to get clear of so disadvantageous a situation; and, in revenge of the mistake the guides had made, and the danger they had brought him into, he crucified them all. But not knowing how to drive the enemy from the heights they were masters of, and sensible besides of the terror and confusion that reigned amongst his men, who concluded themselves fallen into a snare from which there was no escaping, he had recourse to stratagem.

¹ Hannibal had ravaged Samnium, plundered the territory of Beneventum, a Roman colony, and laid siege to Tifela, a city at the foot of the Apennines. But finding that neither the ravaging of the country, nor even the taking of some cities could make Fabius quit his eminences, he resolved to make use of a Mænger bait, which was to enter Cam-

pania, the finest country in Italy, and lay it waste under the dictator's eyes, hoping by that means to bring him to an action. But by the mistake which Plutarch mentions, his guides, instead of conducting him to the plains of Casinum, led him into the narrow passes of Casalium, which divides Samnium from Campania.

He caused 2000 oxen, which he had in his camp, to have torches and dry bays well fastened to their horns. These, in the night, upon a signal given, were to be lighted, and the oxen to be driven to the mountains, near the narrow pass that was guarded by the enemy. While those that had it in charge were thus employed, he decamped, and marched slowly forward. So long as the fire was moderate, and burned only the torches and bays, the oxen moved softly on, as they were driven up the hills; and the shepherds and herdsmen on the adjacent heights took them for an army that marched in order with lighted torches. But when their horns were burnt to the roots and the fire pierced to the quick, terrified and mad with pain, they no longer kept any certain route, but ran up the hills, with their foreheads and tails flaming, and setting every thing on fire that came in their way. The Romans who guarded the pass were astonished; for they appeared to them like a great number of men running up and down with torches, which scattered fire on every side. In their fears, of course, they concluded, that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy; for which reason they quitted the pass, and fled to the main body in the camp. Immediately Hannibal's light-armed troops took possession of the outlet, and the rest of his forces marched safely through, loaded with a rich booty.

Fabius discovered the stratagem that same night, for some of the oxen, as they were scattered about, fell into his hands: but, for fear of an ambush in the dark, he kept his men all night under arms in the camp. At break of day, he pursued the enemy, came up with their rear, and attacked them; several skirmishes ensued in the difficult passes of the mountains, and Hannibal's army was put in some disorder, until he detached from his van a body of Spaniards, light and nimble men, who were accustomed to climb such heights. These falling upon the heavy armed Romans, cut off a considerable number of them, and obliged Fabius to retire. This brought upon him more contempt and calumny than ever: for having renounced open force, as if he could subdue Hannibal by conduct and foresight, he appeared now to be worsted at his own weapons. Hannibal, to incense the Romans still more against him, when he came to his lands, ordered them to be spared, and set a guard upon them to prevent the committing of the least injury there, while he was ravaging all the country around him, and laying it waste with fire. An account of these things being brought to Rome, heavy complaints were made thereupon. The tribunes alleged many articles of accusation against him, before the people, chiefly at the instigation of Metilius, who had no particular enmity to Fabius, but being strongly in the interest of Minucius, the general of the horse, whose relation he was, he thought by depressing Fabius, to raise his friend. The senate too was offended, particularly with the terms he had settled with Hannibal for the ransom of prisoners. For it was agreed between them, that the prisoners should be exchanged, man for man, and that if either of them had more than the other, he should release them for 250 drachmas

each man¹ and upon the whole account there remained 240 Romans unexchanged. The senate determined not to pay this ransom, and blamed Fabius as taking a step that was against the honour and interest of the state, in endeavouring to recover men whom cowardice had betrayed into the hands of the enemy.

When Fabius was informed of the resentment of his fellow-citizens, he bore it with invincible patience; but being in want of money, and not choosing to deceive Hannibal, or to abandon his countrymen in their distress, he sent his son to Rome, with orders to sell part of his estate, and bring him the money immediately. This was punctually performed by his son, and Fabius redeemed the prisoners; several of whom afterwards offered to repay him, but his generosity would not permit him to accept it.

After this he was called to Rome by the priests, to assist at some of the solemn sacrifices, and therefore was obliged to leave the army to Minucius; but he both charged him as dictator, and used many arguments and entreaties with him as a friend, not to come to any kind of action. The pains he took were lost upon Minucius: for he immediately sought occasions to fight the enemy. And observing one day that Hannibal had sent out great part of his army to forage, he attacked those that were left behind, and drove them within their entrenchments, killing great numbers of them, so that they even feared he would storm their camp: and when the rest of the Carthaginian forces were returned, he retreated without loss.² This success added to his temerity, and increased the ardour of his soldiers. The report of it soon reached Rome, and the advantage was represented as much greater than it really was. When Fabius was informed of it, he said, *he dreaded nothing more than the success of Minucius*. But the people, mightily elated with the news, ran to the *forum*; and their tribune Metilius harangued them from the *rostrum*, highly extolling Minucius, and accusing Fabius now, not of cowardice and want of spirit, but of treachery. He endeavoured also to involve the principal men in Rome in the same crime, alleging, "That they had originally brought the war upon Italy, for the destruction of the common people, and had put the commonwealth under the absolute direction of one man, who by his slow proceedings gave Hannibal opportunity to establish himself in the country, and to draw fresh forces from Carthage in order to effect a total conquest of Italy."

Fabius disdained to make any defence against these allegations of the tribune; he only declared that "He would finish the sacrifice and other religious rites as soon as possible, that he might return to the army and punish Minucius for fighting contrary to his orders." This occasioned a great tumult among the people, who were alarmed

¹ Livy calls this *argent! pondo bina et sedibus in milibus*; whence we learn that the Roman pondo, or pound weight of silver, was equivalent to 100 Greek drachmas or a mina.

² Others say, that he lost 5,000 of his men, and that the enemy's loss did not exceed his by more than 1,000.

at the danger of Minucius. For it is in the dictator's power to imprison and afflict capital punishment without form of trial : and they thought that the wrath of Fabius now provoked, though he was naturally very mild and patient, would prove heavy and implacable. But fear kept them all silent, except *Metilius*, whose person, as tribune of the people, could not be touched, (for the tribunes are the only officers of state that retain their authority after the appointing of a dictator.) Metilius entreated, insisted that the people should not give up Minucius, to suffer, perhaps, what Manlius Torquatus caused his own son to suffer, whom he beheaded when crowned with laurel for his victory ; but that they should take from Fabius his power to play the tyrant, and leave the direction of affairs to one who was both able and willing to save his country. The people, though much affected with this speech, did not venture to divest Fabius of the dictatorship, notwithstanding the *odium* he had incurred, but decreed that Minucius should share the command with him, and have equal authority in conducting the war, a thing never before practised in Rome. There was, however, another instance of it soon after upon the unfortunate action of Cannæ : for Marcus Junius the dictator being then in the field, they created another dictator, Fabius Buteo, to fill up the senate, many of whose members were slain in that battle. There was this difference, indeed, that Buteo had no sooner enrolled the new senators, than he dismissed his *lictors* and the rest of his retinue, and mixed with the crowd, stopping some time in the *forum* about his own affairs as a private man.

When the people had thus invested Minucius with a power equal to that of the dictator, they thought they should find Fabius extremely humbled and dejected ; but it soon appeared that they knew not the man. For he did not reckon their mistake any unhappiness to him ; but as Diogenes, the philosopher, when one said, "They deride you," answered well, "But I am not derided ;" *accounting those only to be ridiculed, who feel the ridicule and are discomposed at it* ; so Fabius bore without emotion all that happened to himself, herein confirming that position in philosophy, which affirms that *a wise and good man can suffer no disgrace*. But he was under no small concern for the public, on account of the unadvised proceedings of the people, who had put it in the power of a rash man to indulge his indiscreet ambition for military distinction. And apprehensive that Minucius, infatuated with ambition, might take some fatal step, he left Rome very privately.

Upon his arrival at the camp, he found the arrogance of Minucius grown to such a height, that it was no longer to be endured. Fabius therefore refused to comply with his demand of having the army under his orders every other day, and, instead of that, divided the forces with him, choosing rather to have the full command of a part, than the direction of the whole by turns. He therefore took the first and fourth legions himself, leaving the second and third to Minucius ; and the confederate forces were likewise equally divided.

Minucius valued himself highly upon this, that the power of the greatest and most arbitrary office in the state was controlled and reduced for his sake. But Fabius put him in mind, "That it was not Fabius whom he had to contend with, but Hannibal : that if he would, notwithstanding, consider his colleague as his rival, he must take care lest he who had so successfully carried his point with the people, should one day appear to have their safety and interest less at heart than the man who had been so ill treated by them." Minucius considering this as the effect of an old man's pique, and taking the troops that fell to his lot, marked out a separate camp for them.¹ Hannibal was well informed of all that had passed, and watched his opportunity to take advantage of it.

There was a hill betwixt him and the enemy, not difficult to take possession of, which yet would afford an army a very safe and commodious post. The ground about it, at a distance, seemed quite level and plain, though there were in it several ditches and hollows : and therefore, though he might privately have seized that post with ease, yet he left it as a bait to draw the enemy to an engagement. But as soon as he saw Minucius parted from Fabius he took an opportunity in the night to place a number² of men in those ditches and hollows : and early in the morning he openly sent out a small party, as if designed to make themselves masters of the hill, but really to draw Minucius to dispute it with them. The event answered his expectation. For Minucius sent out his light-armed troops first, then the cavalry, and at last, when he saw Hannibal send reinforcements to his men upon the hill, he marched out with all his forces in order of battle, and attacked with great vigour the Carthaginians, who were marking out a camp upon the hill. The fortune of the day was doubtful, until Hannibal, perceiving that the enemy had fallen into the snare, and that their rear was open to the ambuscade, instantly gave the signal. Hereupon, his men rushed out on all sides, and advancing with loud shouts, and cutting in pieces the hindmost ranks, they put the Romans in disorder and terror inexpressible. Even the spirit of Minucius began to shrink ; and he looked first upon one officer and then upon another, but not one of them durst stand his ground ; they all betook themselves to flight, and the flight itself proved fatal. For the Numidians, now victorious, galloped round the plain, and killed those whom they found dispersed.

Fabius was not ignorant of the danger of his countrymen. Foreseeing what would happen, he kept his forces under arms, and took care to be informed how the action went on : nor did he trust to the reports of others, but he himself looked out from an eminence not far from his camp. When he saw the army of his colleague surrounded and broken, and the cry reached him, not like that of men standing the charge, but of persons flying in great dismay,³ he

¹ About 1,500 paces from Fabius.

² 500 horse and 5,000 foot. POLYB.

³ Homer mentions the custom of smit-

ing upon the thigh in time of trouble : and we learn from Scripture, that it was practised in the East.

smote upon his thigh, and with a deep sigh said to his friends about him, "Ye gods! how much sooner than I expected, and yet later than his indiscreet proceedings required, has Minucius ruined himself!" Then, having commanded the standard-bearers to advance, and the whole army to follow, he addressed them in these words: "Now, my brave soldiers, if any one has a regard for Marcus Minucius, let him exert himself; for he deserves assistance for his valour, and the love he bears his country. If, in his haste to drive out the enemy, he has committed any error, this is not a time to find fault with him."

The first sight of Fabius frightened away the Numidians, who were picking up stragglers in the field. Then he attacked those who were charging the Romans in the rear. Such as made resistance he slew: but the greatest part retreated to their own army, before the communication was cut off, lest they should themselves be surrounded in their turn. Hannibal seeing this change of fortune, and finding that Fabius pushed on through the hottest of the battle with a vigour above his years, to come up to Minucius upon the hill, put an end to the dispute, and having sounded a retreat, retired into his camp. The Romans, on their part, were not sorry when the action was over. Hannibal, as he was drawing off, is reported to have said smartly to those that were by, "Did not I often tell you, that this cloud would one day burst upon us from the mountains, with all the fury of a storm?"

After the battle, Fabius having collected the spoils of such Carthaginians as were left dead upon the field, *returned to his post; nor did he let fall one haughty or angry word against his colleague.* As for Minucius, having called his men together, he thus expressed himself: "Friends and fellow-soldiers! not to err at all in the management of great affairs, is above the wisdom of men, but it is the part of a prudent and good man, to learn, from his errors, and miscarriages, to correct himself for the future. For my part, I confess, that though fortune has frowned upon me a little, I have much to thank her for. For what I could not be brought to be sensible of in so long a time, I have learned in the small compass of one day, that I know not how to command, but have need to be under the direction of another; and from this moment I bid adieu to the ambition of getting the better of a man whom it is an honour to be foiled by. In all other respects, the dictator shall be your commander; but *in the due expressions of gratitude to him, I will be your leader still,* by being the first to show an example of obedience and submission."

He then ordered the ensigns to advance with the eagles, and the troops to follow, himself marching at their head to the camp of Fabius. Being admitted, he went directly to his tent. The whole army waited with impatience for the event. When Fabius came out, Minucius fixed his standard before him, and with a loud voice saluted him by the name of *Father*, at the same time his soldiers called those of Fabius their *Patrons*: an appellation which freed-men give to those that enfranchise them. These respects being

paid, and silence taking place, Minucius thus addressed himself to the dictator. "You have this day, Fabius, obtained two victories one over the enemy by your valour, the other over your colleague by your prudence and humanity. By the former you saved us, in the latter you have instructed us : and Hannibal's victory over us is not more disgraceful than yours is honourable and salutary to us. I call you *Father*, not knowing a more honourable name, and am more indebted to you than to my real father. To him I owe my being, but to you the preservation of my life, and the lives of all these brave men." After this, he threw himself into the arms of Fabius, and the soldiers of each army embraced one another, with every expression of tenderness, and with tears of joy.

Not long after this, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were created.¹ The first of these kept to the plan which Fabius had laid down. He took care not to come to a pitched battle with Hannibal, but sent succours to the allies of Rome, and prevented any revolt in their cities. But when Terentius Varro,² a man of obscure birth, and remarkable only for his temerity and servile complaisance to the people, rose to the consulship, it soon appeared that his boldness and inexperience would bring him to risk the very being of the commonwealth. For he loudly insisted in the assemblies of the people, that the war stood still whilst it was under the conduct of the Fabii ; but, for his part, he would take but one day to get sight of the enemy and to beat him. With these promises he so prevailed on the multitude, that he raised greater forces than Rome had ever had on foot before, in her most dangerous wars ; for he mustered³ no fewer than 88,000 men. Hereupon, Fabius, and other wise and experienced persons among the Romans were greatly alarmed ; because they saw no resource for the state, if such a number of their youth should be cut off. They addressed themselves, therefore, to the other consul, Paulus Æmilius, a man of great experience in war, but disagreeable to the people, and at the same time afraid of them, for they had formerly set a considerable fine upon him. Fabius, however, encouraged him to withstand the temerity of his colleague, telling him, "That the dispute he had to support for his country was not so much with Hannibal as with Varro. The latter," said he, "will hasten to an engagement,⁴ because he knows not his own strength ; and the

¹ According to Livy, Fabius, after the six months of his dictatorship were expired, resigned the army to the consuls of that year, Servilius and Atilius ; the latter having been appointed in the room of Flaminius, who was killed in battle. But Plutarch follows Polybius, who says, that as the time for the election of new consuls approached, the Romans named L. Æmilius Paulus and Terentius Varro consuls, after which the dictators resigned their charge.

² Varro was the son of a butcher, and had followed his father's profession in his youth ; but, growing rich, he had forsaken that mean calling ; and, by the favour of

the people, procured by supporting the most turbulent of their tribunes, he obtained the consulship.

³ It was usual for the Romans to muster every year four legions, which consisting, in difficult times, each of 5,000 Romans and 300 horse, and a battalion of Latins equal to that number, amounted in the whole to 42,400. But this year, instead of four legions, they raised eight.

⁴ The best dependence of Varro was undoubtedly, to prolong the war, that Hannibal, who was already weakened, might wear himself out by degrees ; and, for the same reason, it was Hannibal's eagerness to fight.

former, because he knows his own weakness. But, believe me, Æmilius, I deserve more attention than Varro, with respect to the affairs of Hannibal; and I do assure you, that if the Romans come to no battle with him this year, he will either be undone by his stay in Italy, or else be obliged to quit it. Even now, when he seems to be victorious, and to carry all before him, not one of his enemies has quitted the Roman interest, and not a third part of the forces remains which he brought from home with him." To this Æmilius is said to have answered, "My friend, when I consider myself only, I conclude it better for me, to fall upon the weapons of the enemy, than by the sentence of my own countrymen. However, since the state of public affairs is so critical, I will endeavour to approve myself a good general, and had rather appear such to you, than to all who oppose you, and who would draw me, willing or unwilling, to their party." With these sentiments Æmilius began his operations.

But Varro, having brought his colleague to agree¹ that they should command alternately each his day, when his turn came, took post over against Hannibal, on the banks of the Aufidus, near the village of Cannæ.² As soon as it was light, he gave the signal for battle, which is a red mantle set up over the general's tent. The Carthaginians were a little disheartened at first, when they saw how daring the consul was, and that the army was more than twice their number. But Hannibal having ordered them to arm, himself, with a few others, rode up to an eminence, to take a view of the enemy now drawn up for battle. One Gisco that accompanied him, a man of his own rank, happening to say, "The numbers of the enemy appeared to him surprising," Hannibal replied with a serious countenance, "There is another thing which has escaped your observation, much more surprising than that." Upon his asking what it was, "It is," said he, "that among such numbers not one of them is named Gisco." The whole company were diverted with the humour of his observations: and as they returned to the camp, they told the jest to those they met, so that the laugh became universal. At sight of this the Carthaginians took courage, thinking it must proceed from the great contempt in which their general held the Romans, that he could jest and laugh in the face of danger.

In this battle Hannibal gave great proofs of generalship. In the first place, he took advantage of the ground, to post his men with their backs to the wind, which was then very violent and scorching, and drove from the dry plains, over the heads of the Carthaginians,

¹ It was a fixed rule with the Romans, that the consuls, when they went upon the same service, should have command of the army by turns.

² Cannæ, according to Livy, Apollon, and Florus, was only a poor village, which afterwards became famous on account of the battle fought near it; but Polybius, who lived near the time of the second

Punic war, styles Cannæ a city; and adds, that it had been razed a year before the defeat of the Roman army. Silvanus Italicus agrees with Polybius. It was afterwards rebuilt; for Pliny ranks it among the cities of Apulia. The ruins of Cannæ are still to be seen in the territory of Lucina.

clouds of sand and dust into the eyes and nostrils of the Romans, so that they were obliged to turn away their faces and break their ranks. In the next place, his troops were drawn up in superior art. He placed the flower of them in the wings, and those upon whom he had less dependence in the main corps, which was considerably more advanced than the wings. Then he commanded those in the wings, that when the enemy had charged and vigorously pushed that advanced body, which he knew would give way, and open a passage for them to the very centre, and when the Romans by this means should be far enough engaged within the two wings, they should both on the right and left take them in flank, and endeavour to surround them.¹ This was the principal cause of the great carnage that followed. For the enemy pressing upon Hannibal's front, which gave ground, the form of his army was changed into a half-moon; and the officers of the select troops caused the two points of the wings to join behind the Romans. Thus they were exposed to the attacks of the Carthaginians on all sides; an incredible slaughter followed; nor did any escape but the few that retreated before the main body was enclosed.

It is also said, that a strange and fatal accident happened to the Roman cavalry. For the horse which Æmilius rode having received some hurt, threw him; and those about him alighting to assist and defend the consul on foot, the rest of the cavalry seeing this, and taking it for a signal for them to do the same, all quitted their horses, and charged on foot. At sight of this, Hannibal said, "This pleases me better than if they had been delivered to me bound hand and foot." But the particulars may be found at large in the historians who have described this battle.

As to the consuls, Varro escaped with a few horse to Venutia; and Æmilius, covered with darts which stuck in his wounds, sat down in anguish and despair, waiting for the enemy to despatch him. His head and his face were so disfigured and stained with blood, that it was not easy to know him; even his friends and servants passed by him without stopping. At last Cornelius Lentulus, a young man of a *patrician* family, perceiving who he was, dismounted, and entreated him to take his horse, and save himself for the commonwealth, which had then more occasion than ever for so good a consul. But nothing could prevail upon him to accept of the offer; and, notwithstanding the young man's tears, he obliged him to mount his horse again. Then rising up, and taking him by the hand, "Tell Fabius Maximus," said he, "and, Lentulus, do you yourself be witness, that Paulus Æmilius followed his directions to the last, and did not deviate in the least from the plan agreed upon between them, but was first overcome by Varro, and then by Hannibal." Having despatched Lentulus with this commission, he rushed among the enemy's swords, and was slain. 50,000 Romans

¹ Five hundred Numidians pretended to desert to the Romans; but in the heat

of the battle turned against them, and attacked them in the rear

are said to have fallen in this battle¹ and 4,000 to have been taken prisoners, besides 10,000 that were taken after the battle in both the camps.

After this great success, Hannibal's friends advised him to pursue his fortune, and to enter Rome alone, with the fugitives, assuring him that in five days he might sup in the Capitol. It is not easy to conjecture what his reason was for not taking this step. Most probably some deity opposed it, and therefore inspired him with this hesitation and timidity. On this account it was that a Carthaginian, named Barca, said to him with some heat, "Hannibal, you know how to gain a victory, but not how to use it."

The battle of Cannæ, however, made such an alteration in his affairs, that though before it he had neither town, nor magazine, nor port in Italy, but, without any regular supplies for the war, subsisted his army by rapine, and for that purpose moved them, like a great band of robbers, from place to place, yet then he became master of the greatest part of Italy. Its best provinces and towns voluntarily submitted to him, and Capua itself, the most respectable city after Rome, threw its weight into his scale.

In this case it appeared that great misfortunes are not only, what *Lurpides* calls them, a trial of the fidelity of a friend, but of the capacity and conduct of a general. For the proceedings of Fabius, which before this battle were deemed cold and timid, then appeared to be directed by counsels more than human, to be indeed the dictates of a divine wisdom, which penetrated into futurity at such a distance, and foresaw what seemed incredible to the very persons who experienced it. *In him, therefore, Rome places her last hope*, his judgment is the temple, the altar, to which she flies for refuge, believing that to his prudence it was chiefly owing that she still held up her head, and that her children were not dispersed, as when she was taken by the Gauls. For he, who in times of apparent security, seemed to be deficient in confidence and resolution, now when all abandoned themselves to inexpressible sorrow and helpless despair, alone walked about the city with a calm and

¹ According to *Livy*, there were killed of the Romans only 40,000 foot, and 2,700 horse. *Polybius* says 70,000 were killed. The loss of the Carthaginians did not amount to 6,000. When the Carthaginians were stripping the dead, among other moving objects they found, to their great surprise, a Numidian yet alive, lying under the dead body of a Roman, who had thrown himself headlong on his enemy, and beat him down, but being no longer able to make use of his weapons, because he had lost his hands, had torn off the nose and ears of the Numidian with his teeth, and in that fit of rage expired.

² *Zonaras* tells us, that Hannibal himself afterwards acknowledged his mistake in not pursuing that day's success, and used often to cry out, *O Cannæ! Cannæ!*

But on the other hand, it may be pleaded in defence of Hannibal, that the advantages he had gained were chiefly owing to his cavalry, who could not act in a siege. That the inhabitants of Rome were all bred up to arms from their infancy, would use their utmost efforts in defence of their wives, their children and their domestic gods, and, when sheltered by walls and ramparts would probably be invincible. *that they had as many generals as senators*, that no one nation of Italy had yet declared for him, and he might judge it necessary to gain some of them before he attempted the capital, and lastly, that if he had attempted the capital first and without success he would not have been able to gain any one nation or city.

easy pace, with a firm countenance, a mild and gracious address, checking their effeminate lamentations, and preventing them from assembling in public to bewail their common distress. He caused the senate to meet ; he encouraged the magistrates, himself being the soul of their body, for all waited his motion, and were ready to obey his orders. He placed a guard at the gates, to hinder such of the people as were inclined to fly, from quitting the city. He fixed both the place and time for mourning, allowed thirty days for that purpose in a man's own house, and no more for the city in general. And as the feast of Ceres fell within that time, it was thought better entirely to omit the solemnity, than by the small numbers and the melancholy looks of those that should attend it, to discover the greatness of their loss,¹ for the worship most acceptable to the gods is that which comes from cheerful hearts. Indeed, whatever the augurs ordered for propitiating the divine powers, and averting inauspicious omens, was carefully performed. For Fabius Pictor, the near relation of Fabius Maximus, was sent to consult the oracle at Delphi ; and of the two vestals who were then found guilty of a breach of their vow of chastity, one was buried alive, according to custom, and the other died by her own hand.

But what most deserves to be admired, is the magnanimity and temper of the Romans, when the consul Varro returned after his defeat,² much humbled and very melancholy, as one who had occasioned the greatest calamity and disgrace imaginable to the republic. The whole senate and people went to welcome him at the gates ; and when silence was commanded, the magistrates and principal senators, amongst whom was Fabius, commended him for not giving up the circumstances of the state as desperate after so great a misfortune, but returning to take upon him the administration, and to make what advantage he could for his country of the laws and citizens, as not being utterly lost and ruined.

When they found that Hannibal, after the battle, instead of marching to Rome, turned to another part of Italy, they took courage, and sent their armies and generals into the field. The most eminent of these were Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus, men distinguished by characters almost entirely opposite. Marcellus was a man of a buoyant and animated valour ; remarkably well skilled in the use of weapons, and naturally enterprising ; such an one, in short, as Homer calls *lofty in heart, in courage*

¹ This was not the real cause of deferring the festival, but that which Plutarch hints at just after, viz., because it was unlawful for persons in mourning to celebrate it ; and at that time there was not one matron in Rome who was not in mourning. In fact the feast was not entirely omitted, but kept as soon as the mourning was expired.

² Valerius Maximus tells us (lib. iii. c. 6.) that the senate and people offered

Varro the dictatorship, which he refused, and by his modest refusal wiped off, in some measure, the shame of his former behaviour. Thus the Romans, by treating their unfortunate commanders with humanity, lessened the disgrace of their being vanquished or discharged ; while the Carthaginians condemned their generals to cruel deaths upon their being overcome, though it was often without their own fault.

fierce, in war delighting. So intrepid a general was very fit to be opposed to an enemy as daring as himself, to restore the courage and spirits of the Romans, by some vigorous stroke in the first engagements. As for Fabius, he kept to his first sentiments, and hoped that if he only followed Hannibal close, without fighting him, he and his army would wear themselves out, and lose their warlike vigour, just as a wrestler does, who keeps continually in the ring, and allows himself no repose, to recruit his strength after excessive fatigues. Hence it was that the Romans (as Posidonius tells us,) called Fabius *their shield* and Marcellus *their sword*, and used to say, that the steadiness and caution of the one, mixed with the vivacity and boldness of the other, made a compound very salutary to Rome. Hannibal, therefore, often meeting Marcellus, whose motions were like those of a torrent, found his forces broken and diminished; and by Fabius, who moved with a silent but constant stream, he was undermined and insensibly weakened. Such, at length, was the extremity he was reduced to, that he was tired of fighting Marcellus, and afraid of Fabius. And these were the persons he had generally to do with during the remainder of the war, as prætors, consuls, or proconsuls: for each of them was five times consul. It is true, Marcellus, in his fifth consulate, was drawn into his snares, and killed by means of an ambuscade. Hannibal often made the like attempts upon Fabius, exerting all his arts and stratagems, but without effect. Once only he deceived him, and had nearly led him into a fatal error. He forged letters to him, as from the principal inhabitants of Metapontum, offering to deliver up the city to him, and assuring him that those who had taken this resolution, only waited till he appeared before it. Fabius giving credit to these letters, ordered a party to be ready, intending to march thither in the night; but finding the auspices unpromising, he altered his design, and soon after discovered that the letters were forged by an artifice of Hannibal's, and that he was lying in ambush for him near the town. But this perhaps may be ascribed to the favour and protection of the gods.

Fabius was persuaded that it was better to keep the cities from revolting, and to prevent any commotions among the allies, by affability and mildness, than to entertain every suspicion, or to use severity against those whom he did suspect. It is reported of him, that being informed, that a certain Marcian in his army,¹ who was a man not inferior in courage or family to any among the allies, solicited some of his men to desert, he did not treat him harshly, but acknowledged that he had been too much neglected; declaring at the same time, that he was now perfectly sensible how much his officers had been to blame in distributing honours more out of favour than regard to merit: and that for the future he should take it ill if he did not apply to him when he had any request to make. This was followed with a present of a war horse, and with other

¹ Livy tells this story of Marcellus, which Pinitarch here applies to Fabius

marks of honour ; and from that time the man behaved with great fidelity and zeal for the service. Fabius thought it hard, that, while those who breed dogs and horses soften their stubborn tempers, and bring down their fierce spirits by care and kindness, rather than with whips and chains, he who has the command of men should not endeavour to correct their errors by gentleness and goodness, but treat them even in a harsher and more violent manner than gardeners do the wild fig trees, wild pears and olives, whose nature they subdue by cultivation, and which by that means they bring to produce very agreeable fruit.

Another time, some of his officers informed him, that one of the soldiers, a native of Lucania, often quitted his post, and rambled out of the camp. Upon this report, he asked what kind of a man he was in other respects ; and they all declared it was not easy to find so good a soldier, doing him the justice to mention several extraordinary instances of his valour. On inquiring into the cause of this irregularity, he found that the man was passionately in love, and that for the sake of seeing a young woman he ventured out of the camp, and took a long and dangerous journey every night. Hereupon Fabius gave orders to some of his men to find out the woman, and convey her into his own tent, but took care that the Lucanian should not know it. Then he sent for him, and taking him aside, spoke to him as follows : " I very well know, that you have lain many nights out of the camp, in breach of the Roman discipline and laws ; at the same time I am not ignorant of your past services. In consideration of them, I forgive your present crime ; but for the future I will give you in charge to a person who shall be answerable for you." While the soldier stood much amazed, Fabius produced the woman, and putting her in his hands, thus expressed himself : " This is the person who engages for you that you will remain in camp ; and now we shall see whether there was not some traitorous design which drew you out, and which you made the love of this woman a cloak for."

By means of another love affair, Fabius recovered the city of Tarentum, which had been treacherously delivered up to Hannibal. A young man, a native of that place, who served under Fabius, had a sister there who loved him with great tenderness. This youth being informed, that a certain Brutian, one of the officers of the garrison which Hannibal had put in Tarentum, entertained a violent passion for his sister, hoped to avail himself of this circumstance to the advantage of the Romans. Therefore, with the permission of Fabius, he returned to his sister at Tarentum under colour of having deserted. Some days passed during which the Brutian forbore his visits, for she supposed that her brother knew nothing of the amour. This obliged the young man to come to an explanation. " It has been currently reported," said he, " that you receive addresses from a man of some distinction. Pray, who is he ? If he is a man of honour and character, as they say he is, Mars, who confounds all things, takes but little thought of what country he may be. What necessity imposes is no disgrace ; but we may

rather think ourselves fortunate, at a time when justice yields to force, if that which force might compel us to, happens not to be disagreeable to our own inclinations." Thus encouraged, the young woman sent for the Brutian, and presented him to her brother. And as she behaved to him in a kinder and more complying manner through her brother's means, who was very indulgent to his passion, it was not very difficult to prevail with the Brutian, who was deeply in love, and was withal a mercenary, to deliver up the town, upon promises of great rewards from Fabius.

This is the account which most historians give us: yet some say, that the woman by whom the Brutian was gained, was not a Tarentine, but a Brutian; that she had been concubine to Fabius; and that when she found the governor of Tarentum was her countryman and acquaintance, she told Fabius of it, and finding means, by approaching the walls, to make him a proposal, she drew him over to the Roman interest.

During these transactions, Fabius, in order to make a diversion, gave directions to the garrison of Rhegium to lay waste the Brutian territories, and, if possible, to make themselves masters of Caulonia. These were a body of 8,000 men, composed partly of deserters, and partly of the most worthless of that infamous band brought by Marcellus out of Sicily,¹ and therefore the loss of them would not be great, nor much lamented by the Romans. These men he threw out as a bait for Hannibal, and by sacrificing them hoped to draw him to a distance from Tarentum. The design succeeded accordingly: for Hannibal marched with his forces to Caulonia, and Fabius in the meantime laid siege to Tarentum. The sixth day of the siege, the young man having settled the matter with the Brutian officer by means of his sister, and having well observed the place where he kept guard and promised to let in the Romans, went to Fabius by night, and gave him an account of it. The consul moved to the appointed quarter, though not entirely depending upon the promise that the town would be betrayed. There he himself sat still, but at the same time ordered an assault on every other part both by sea and land. This was put in execution with great noise and tumult, which drew most of the Tarentines that way to assist the garrison and repel the besiegers. Then the Brutian giving Fabius the signal, he scaled the walls and got possession of the town.

On this occasion Fabius seems to have indulged a criminal ambition.² For that it might not appear that the place was betrayed to him, he ordered the Brutians to be put first to the sword. But he failed in his design; for the former suspicion still remained, and

¹ These men were brought from Sicily, not by Marcellus, but by his colleague *Levinus*.

² *Livy* does not say, that *Fabius* gave such orders. He only says, "There were many Brutians slain, either through

ignorance, or through the ancient hatred which the Romans bore them, or because the Romans were desirous that Tarentum should seem to be taken sword in hand, rather than betrayed to them."

he incurred, besides, the reproach of perfidy and inhumanity. Many of the Tarentines also were killed; 30,000 of them were sold for slaves; the army had the plunder of the town, and 3,000 talents were brought into the public treasury. Whilst every thing was ransacked, and the spoils were heaped before Fabius, it is reported that the officer who took the inventory, asked "What he would have them to do with the gods?" meaning the statues and pictures: Fabius answered, "Let us leave the Tarentines their angry gods."¹ However, he carried away a *colossus* of Hercules which he afterwards set up in the Capitol, and near it an equestrian statue of himself in brass.² Thus he showed himself inferior to Marcellus, in his taste for the fine arts, and still more so in mercy and humanity. Marcellus in this respect had greatly the advantage.

Hannibal had hastened to the relief of Tarentum, and being within five miles of it, when it was taken, he scrupled not to say publicly, "The Romans, too, have their Hannibal; for we have lost Tarentum in the same manner that we gained it." And in private he then first acknowledged to his friends, "That he had always thought it difficult, but now saw it was impossible, with the forces he had to conquer Italy."

Fabius for this was honoured with a triumph, more splendid than the former, having gloriously maintained the field against Hannibal, and baffled all his schemes with ease, just as an able wrestler disengages himself from the arms of his antagonist whose grasp no longer retains the same vigour. For Hannibal's army was now partly enervated with opulence and luxury, and partly impaired and worn with continual action.

Marcus Livius, who commanded in Tarentum, when it was betrayed to Hannibal, retired into the citadel, and held it till it was retaken by the Romans. This officer beheld with pain the honours conferred upon Fabius, and one day his envy and vanity drew from him this expression in the senate, "I, not Fabius, was the cause of recovering Tarentum." "True," said Fabius, laughing, "for if you had not lost the town, I had never recovered it."

Among other honours which the Romans paid to Fabius, they elected his son consul.³ When he had entered upon his office, and was settling some point relating to the war, the father, either on account of his age and infirmities, or else to try his son, mounted his horse, to ride up to him. The young consul seeing him at a distance, would not suffer it, but sent one of the *lictors* to his father with orders for him to dismount, and to come on foot to the consul, if he had any occasion to apply to him. The whole assembly were moved at this, and cast their eyes upon Fabius, by their silence and their looks expressing their resentment of the indignity offered to a person of his character. But he instantly alighted, and ran to his son, and embraced him with great tenderness. "My son," said he,

¹ The gods were in the attitude of combatants; and they appeared to have fought against the Tarentines.

² The work of Lysippus.

³ The son was elected consul four years before the father took Tarentum.

' I applaud your sentiments and your behaviour. You know what a people you command, and have a just sense of the dignity of your office. This was the way that we and our forefathers took to advance Rome to her present height of glory, always considering the honour and interest of our country before that of our own fathers and children."

And indeed it is reported that the great grand father of our Fabius,¹ though he was one of the greatest men in Rome, whether we consider his reputation or authority, though he had been five times consul, and had been honoured with several glorious triumphs on account of his success in wars of the last importance, yet condescended to serve as lieutenant to his son then consul,² in an expedition against the Samnites. and while his son, in the triumph which was decreed him, drove into Rome in a chariot and four, he with others followed him on horseback. Thus, while he had authority over his son, considered as a private man, and while he was both especially and reputedly the most considerable member of the commonwealth, yet he gloried in showing his subjection to the laws and to the magistrate. Nor was this the only part of his character that deserves to be admired.

When Fabius Maximus had the misfortune to lose his son, he bore that loss with great moderation, as became a wise man and a good father, and the funeral oration,³ which on occasion of the deaths of illustrious men is usually pronounced by some near kinsman, he delivered himself, and having committed it to writing, made it public.

When Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was sent proconsul into Spain, had defeated the Carthaginians in many battles, and driven them out of that province, and when he had, moreover, reduced several towns and nations under the obedience of Rome, on returning loaded with spoil, he was received with great acclamations and general joy. Being appointed consul, and finding that the people expected something great and striking at his hands, he considered it as an antiquated method and worthy only of the inactivity of an old man, to watch the motions of Hannibal in Italy, and therefore determined to remove the seat of war from thence into Africa, to fill the enemy's country with his legions, to extend his ravages far and wide, and to attempt Carthage itself. With this view he exerted all his talents to bring the people into his design. But Fabius, on this occasion, filled the city with alarms, as if the commonwealth was going to be brought into the most extreme danger by a rash and indiscreet young man, in short, he scrupled not to do or say

¹ Titus Livius

² Fabius Garges who had been defeated by the Samnites and would have been degraded had not his father prevailed to attend him in his second expedition as his lieutenant.

³ Cicero in his treatise on old age speaks in high terms, both of Fabius and

this oration of his. Many extraordinary things have I known in that man but nothing more admirable than the manner in which he bore the death of his son, a person of great merit and of consular dignity. His eulogium is in our hands, and while we read it do we not look down on the best of the philosophers?

any thing he thought likely to dissuade his countrymen from embracing the proposal. With the senate he carried his point.¹ But the people believing that his opposition to Scipio proceeded either from envy of his success, or from a secret fear that if this young hero should perform some signal exploit, put an end to the war, or even remove it out of Italy, his own slow proceedings through the course of so many years might be imputed to indolence or timidity.

To me Fabius seems at first to have opposed the measures of Scipio, from an excess of caution and prudence, and to have really thought the danger attending his project great; but in the progress of the opposition, I think he went too great lengths, misled by ambition and a jealousy of Scipio's rising glory. For he applied to Crassus, the colleague of Scipio, and endeavoured to persuade him not to yield that province to Scipio, but if he thought it proper to conduct the war in that manner, to go himself against Carthage.² Nay, he even hindered the raising of money for that expedition: so that Scipio was obliged to find the supplies as he could: and he effected it through his interest with the cities of Hetruria, which were wholly devoted to him.³ As for Crassus, he stayed at home, partly induced to it by his disposition, which was mild and peaceful, and partly by the care of religion, which was entrusted to him as high priest.

Fabius, therefore, took another method to traverse the design. He endeavoured to prevent the young men who offered to go volunteers from giving in their names, and loudly declared both in the senate and *forum*, "That Scipio did not only himself avoid Hannibal, but intended to carry away with him the remaining strength of Italy, persuading the young men to abandon their parents, their wives, and native city, whilst an unsubdued and potent enemy was still at their doors." With these assertions he so terrified the people, that they allowed Scipio to take with him only the legions that were in Sicily, and 300 of those men who had served him with so much fidelity in Spain. In this particular Fabius seems to have followed the dictates of his own cautious temper.

After Scipio was gone over into Africa, an account was soon brought to Rome, of his glorious and wonderful achievements. This account was followed by rich spoils, which confirmed it. A Numidian king was taken prisoner; two camps were burned and destroyed, and in them a vast number of men, arms, and horses; and the Carthaginians sent orders to Hannibal to quit his fruitless hopes in Italy, and return home to defend his own country. Whilst

¹ See the debates in the senate on that occasion in Livy, *ab. xviii.*

² This Crassus could not do: for being *Pontifex Maximus*, it was necessary that he should remain in Italy.

³ Scipio was empowered to ask of the allies all things necessary for building and equipping a new fleet. And many

of the provinces and cities voluntarily taxed themselves to furnish him with corn, iron, timber, cloth for sails, &c., so that in 40 days after the cutting of the timber, he was in a condition to set sail with a fleet of 30 new galleys, besides the 80 he had before. There went with him about 7,000 volunteers.

every tongue was applauding these exploits of Scipio, Fabius proposed that his successor should be appointed, without any shadow or reason for it, except what this well-known maxim implies, viz., "That it is dangerous to trust affairs of such importance to the fortune of one man, because it is not likely that he will be always successful."

By this he offended the people, who now considered him as a captious and envious man; or as one whose courage and hopes were lost in the dregs of years, and who therefore looked upon Hannibal as more formidable than he really was. Nay, even when Hannibal embarked his army and quitted Italy, Fabius ceased not to disturb the general joy and to damp the spirits of Rome. For he took the liberty to affirm, "That the commonwealth was now come to her last and worst trial; that she had the most reason to dread the efforts of Hannibal when he should arrive in Africa, and attack her sons under the walls of Carthage; that Scipio would have to do with an army yet warm with the blood of so many Roman generals, dictators, and consuls." The city was alarmed at these declamations, and though the war was removed into Africa, the danger seemed to approach nearer Rome than ever.

However, soon after, Scipio defeated Hannibal in a pitched battle, pulled down the pride of Carthage and trod it under foot. This afforded the Romans a pleasure beyond all their hopes, and restored a firmness to their empire, which had been shaken with so many tempests. But Fabius Maximus did not live to the end of the war, to hear of the overthrow of Hannibal, or to see the prosperity of his country re-established: for about the time that Hannibal left Italy, he fell sick and died. We are assured, that Epaminondas died so poor, that the Thebans buried him at the public charge; for at his death nothing was found in his house but an iron spit.¹ The expense of Fabius's funeral was not indeed defrayed out of the Roman treasury, but every citizen contributed a small piece of money towards it; not that he died without effects, but *that they might bury him as the father of the people*; and that the honours paid him at his death might be suitable to the dignity of his life.

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS CLAUDIUS, who was five times consul, was the son of Marcus; and, according to Posidonius, the first of his family that

¹ Xylander is of opinion, that the word *Obeliskos* in this place does not signify a spit but a piece of money; and he shows from a passage in the life of Lyxander, that money anciently was made in a

pyramidical form. But he did not consider that the iron money was not in use at Thebes, and Plutarch says that this obeliskus was of iron.

bore the surname of Marcellus, that is, *Martial*. He had indeed, a great deal of military experience; his make was strong, his arm almost irresistible, and he was naturally inclined to war. But though impetuous and lofty in the combat, on other occasions he was modest and humane. He was so far a lover of the Grecian learning and eloquence, as to honour and admire those that excelled in them, though his employments prevented his making that progress in them which he desired. For if Heaven ever designed that any men,

"In war's rude lists should combat, from youth to age,"

as Homer expresses it, certainly it was the principal Romans of those times. In their youth they had to contend with the Carthaginians for the island of Sicily, in their middle age with the Gauls for Italy itself, and, in their old age again, with the Carthaginians and Hannibal. Thus, even in age, they had not the common relaxation and repose, but were called forth by their birth and their merit to accept of military commands.

As for Marcellus, there was no kind of fighting in which he was not admirably well skilled; but in single combat he excelled himself. He, therefore, never refused a challenge, or failed of killing the challenger. In Sicily, seeing his brother Otacilius in great danger, he covered him with his shield, slew those that attacked him, and saved his life. For those things he received from the generals crowns and other military honours, while but a youth; and his reputation increasing every day, the people appointed him to the office of *curule ædile*, and the priests to that of *augur*. This is a kind of sacerdotal function to which the law assigns the care of that divination which is taken from the flights of birds.

After the first Carthaginian war,¹ which had lasted 22 years, Rome was soon engaged in a new war with the Gauls. The Insubrians, a Celtic nation, who inhabit that part of Italy which lies at the foot of the Alps, though very powerful in themselves, called in the assistance of the *Gesatæ*, a people of Gaul, who fight for pay on such occasions. It was a wonderful and fortunate thing for the Roman people, that the Gallic war did not break out at the same time with the Punic; and that the Gauls observing an exact neutrality all that time, as if they had waited to take up the conqueror,

¹ Plutarch is a little mistaken here in his chronology. The first Punic war lasted 24 years, for it began in the year of Rome 489, and peace was made with the Carthaginians in the year 512. The Gauls continued quiet all that time, and did not begin to stir till four years after. Then they advanced to Ariminum; but the Boii mutinying against their leaders, slew the kings Ates and Galates; after which the Gauls fell upon each other, and numbers were slain; they that survived returned home five years after this,

the Gauls began to prepare for a new war, on account of the division which Flaminius had made of the lands in the Picena, taken from the Senones of Gallia Cisalpina. These preparations were carrying on a long time; and it was eight years after that division before the war began in earnest under their chiefs Congolitanus and Anseretes, when L. Æmilius Papus and C. Atilius Regulus were consuls, in the 628th year of Rome, and the third year of Olympiad 138. Polyb. l. ii.

did not attack the Romans till they were victorious, and at leisure to receive them. However, this war was not a little alarming to the Romans, as well on account of the vicinity of the Gauls, as their character of old as warriors. They were, indeed, the enemy whom they dreaded most; for they had made themselves masters of Rome; and from that time it had been provided by law, that the priests should be exempted from bearing arms, except it were to defend the city against the Gauls.

The vast preparations they made were farther proofs of their fears, (for it is said that so many thousands of Romans were never seen in arms either before or since); and so were the new and extraordinary sacrifices which they offered. On other occasions, they had not adopted the rites of barbarous and savage nations, but their religious customs had been agreeable to the mild and merciful ceremonies of the Greeks: yet on the appearance of this war, they were forced to comply with certain oracles found in the books of the Sibyls; and thereupon they buried two Greeks,¹ a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, one of each sex, alive in the beast-market. A thing that gave rise to certain private and mysterious rites, which still continue to be performed in the month of November.

In the beginning of the war the Romans sometimes gained great advantages, and sometimes were no less signally defeated; but there was no decisive action, till the consulate of Flaminius and Furius, who led a very powerful army against the Insubrians. Then, we are told, the river which runs through the Picene, was seen flowing with blood, and that three moons appeared over the city of Ariminum. But *the priests who were to observe the flight of birds at the time of choosing consuls*, affirmed that the election was faulty and inauspicious. The senate, therefore, immediately sent letters to the camp, to recall the consuls, insisting that they should return without loss of time, and resign their office, and forbidding them to act at all against the enemy in consequence of their late appointment.

Flaminius having received these letters, deferred opening them till he had engaged and routed the barbarians, and overrun their country.² Therefore, when he returned loaded with spoils, the people did not go out to meet him; and because he did not directly

¹ They offered the same sacrifice at the beginning of the second Punic war. Liv. l. xlii., §. 7.

² Flaminius was not entitled to this success by his conduct. He gave battle with a river behind him, where there was not room for his men to rally or retreat, if they had been broken. But possibly he might make such a disposition of his forces, to show them that they must either conquer or die; for he knew that he was acting against the intentions of the senate, and that nothing but success could bring him off. Indeed, he was naturally rash and daring. It was the

skill and management of the legions which made amends for the consul's imprudence. They distributed among the soldiers of the first line the pikes of the Triarii, to prevent the enemy from making use of their swords; and when the first ardour of the Gauls was over, they ordered the Romans to shorten their swords, close with the enemy, so as to leave them no room to lift up their arms, and stab them; which they did without running any hazard themselves *the swords of the Gauls having no p...ts.*

obey the order that recalled him, but treated it with contempt, he was in danger of losing his triumph. As soon as the triumph was over, both he and his colleagues were deposed, and reduced to the rank of private citizens. So much regard had the Romans for religion, referring all their affairs to the good pleasure of the gods, and, in their greatest prosperity, not suffering any neglect of the forms of divination and other sacred usages; for they were fully persuaded, that it was a matter of greater importance to the preservation of the state to have their generals obedient to the gods, than even to have them victorious in the field.

To this purpose, the following story is remarkable:—Tiberius Sempronius, who was as much respected for his valour and probity as any man in Rome, while consul, named Scipio Nasica and Caius Marcius his successors. When they were gone into the province allotted them, Sempronius happening to meet with a book which contained the sacred regulations for the conduct of war, found that there was one particular which he never knew before. It was this: "When the consul goes to take the auspices in a house or tent without the city, hired for that purpose, and is obliged by some necessary business to return into the city before any sure sign appears to him, he must not make use of that lodge again, but take another, and there begin his observations anew." Sempronius was ignorant of this, when he named those two consuls, for he had twice made use of the same place; but when he perceived his error, he made the senate acquainted with it. They, for their part, did not lightly pass over so small a defect, but wrote to the consuls about it; who left their provinces and returned with all speed to Rome, where they laid down their offices. This did not happen till 60 years after the affair of which we were speaking.

But about that very time, two priests of the best families of Rome, Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Sulpicius, were degraded from the priesthood; the former because he did not present the entrails of the victim according to rule; and the latter because, as he was sacrificing, the tuft of his cap, which was such an one as the *Flamines* wear, fell off. And because the squeaking of a rat happened to be heard, at the moment that Minutius the dictator appointed Caius Flaminius his general of horse, the people obliged them to quit their posts, and appointed others in their stead. But while they observed these small matters with such exactness, they gave not in to any sort of superstition,¹ for they neither changed nor went beyond the ancient ceremonies.

Flaminius and his colleagues being deposed from the consulship, the magistrates, called *interreges*,² nominated Marcellus to that high office; who, when he entered upon it, took Cneius Cornelius

¹ This word is here used in the literal sense.

² These were officers, who, when there were no legal magistrates in being, were appointed to hold the *comitia* for electing

new ones. The title of *interreges*, which which was given them while the government was regal, was continued to them under the commonwealth.

for his colleague. Though the Gauls are said to have been disposed to a reconciliation, and the senate was peaceably inclined, yet the people at the instigation of Marcellus were for war. However, a peace was concluded; which seems to have been broken by the Gesatæ, who having passed the Alps, with 30,000 men, prevailed with the Insubrians to join them with much greater numbers. Elated with their strength, they marched immediately to Acerræ,¹ a city on the banks of the Po. There Viridomarus, king of the Gesatæ, took 10,000 men from the main body, and with this body laid waste all the country about the river.

When Marcellus was informed of their march, he left his colleagues before Acerræ, with all the heavy armed infantry, and the third part of the horse; and taking with him the rest of the cavalry, and about 600 of the light-armed foot, he set out and kept forward day and night till he came up with the 10,000 Gesatæ near Clastidium,² a little town of the Gauls, which had very lately submitted to the Romans. He had not time to give his troops any rest or refreshment; for the barbarians immediately perceived his approach, and despised his attempt, as he had but a handful of infantry, and they made no account of his cavalry. These, as well as all the other Gauls being skilled in fighting on horseback, thought they had the advantage in this respect; and, besides they greatly exceeded Marcellus in numbers. They marched, therefore, directly against him, their king at their head, with great impetuosity and dreadful menaces, as if sure of crushing him at once. Marcellus, because his party was but small, to prevent its being surrounded, extended the wings of his cavalry, thinning and widening the line, till he presented a front nearly equal to that of the enemy. He was now advancing to the charge, when his horse, terrified with the shouts of the Gauls, turned short, and forcibly carried him back. Marcellus fearing that this, interpreted by superstition, should cause some disorder in his troops, *quickly turned his horse again towards the enemy, and then paid his adorations to the sun*; as if that movement had been made, not by accident but design, for *the Romans always turn round when they worship the gods*. Upon the point of engaging, he vowed to Jupiter *Feretrius* the choicest of the enemy's arms. In the meantime the king of the Gauls spied him, and judging by the ensigns of authority that he was the consul, he set spurs to his horse, and advanced a considerable way before the rest, brandishing his spear and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was distinguished from the rest of the Gauls by his stature, as well as by his armour, which, being set off with gold and silver, and the most lively colours, shone like lightning. As Marcellus was viewing the disposition of the enemy's forces, he cast his eyes upon his rich suit of armour, and concluding that in

¹ The Romans were besieging Acerræ, and the Gauls went to relieve it; but finding themselves unable to do that, they passed the Po with part of their

army, and laid siege to Clastidium to make a diversion. PONT. I. II.

² Livy places this town in Ligurie Mont na.

it his vow to Jupiter would be accomplished, he rushed upon the Gaul, and pierced his breast-plate with his spear, which stroke, together with the weight and force of the consul's horse, brought him to the ground, and with two or three more blows he despatched him. He then leaped from his horse, and lifting up his spoils towards heaven he said, "O Jupiter *Feretrius*, who observest the deeds of great warriors and generals in battle, I now call thee to witness, that I am the third Roman consul and general who have, with my own hands, slain a general and a king! To thee I consecrate the most excellent spoils. Do thou grant us equal success in the prosecution of this war."

When this prayer was ended, the Roman cavalry encountered both the enemy's horse and foot at the same time, and gained a victory, not only great in itself, but peculiar in its kind, for we have no account of such a handful of cavalry beating such numbers both of horse and foot, either before or since. Marcellus having killed the greatest part of the enemy, and taken their arms and baggage, returned to his colleague,¹ who had no such good success against the Gauls before Milan, which is a great and populous city, and the metropolis of that country. For this reason the Gauls defended it, with such spirit and resolution that Scipio, instead of besieging it, seemed rather besieged himself. But upon the return of Marcellus, the Gesatæ, understanding that their king was slain, and his army defeated, drew off their forces; and so Milan was taken;² and the Gauls surrendering the rest of their cities, and referring every thing to the equity of the Romans, obtained reasonable conditions of peace.

The senate decreed a triumph to Marcellus only; and, whether we consider the rich spoils that were displayed in it, *the prodigious size of the captives*, or the magnificence with which the whole was conducted, it was one of the most splendid that was ever seen. But the most agreeable and most uncommon spectacle was Marcellus himself, carrying the armour of Viridomarus, which he vowed to Jupiter. He had cut the trunk of an oak in the form of a trophy, which he adorned with the spoils of that barbarian, placing every part of his arms in handsome order. When the procession began to move, he mounted his chariot, which was drawn by four horses, and passed through the city with the trophy on his shoulders, which was the noblest ornament of the whole triumph. The army followed, clad in elegant armour, and *singing odes composed for that occasion, and other songs of triumph, in honour of Jupiter and their general*.

When he came to the temple of Jupiter *Feretrius* he set up and consecrated the trophy, being the third and last general, who as yet has been so gloriously distinguished. The first was Romulus,

¹ During the absence of Marcellus, Acerræ had been taken by his colleague Scipio, who from thence had marched to invest Mediolanum, or Milan.

² Comum also, another city of great importance, surrendered. Thus all Italy, from the Alps to the Ionian sea, became entirely Roman.

after he had slain Acron, king of the Cænineæ; Cornelius Cossus, who slew Volumnius the Tuscan, was the second; and the third and last was Marcellus, who killed with his own hand Viridomarus, king of the Gauls. The god to whom these spoils were devoted, was Jupiter, surnamed *Feretrius* (as some say) from the Greek word *Phætron* which signifies a car, for the trophy was borne on such a carriage, and the Greek language at that time was much mixed with the Latin. Others say, Jupiter had that appellation, because he strikes with lightning, for the Latin word *ferre* signifies to strike. Others again will have it, that it is on account of the strokes which are given in battle; for even now, when the Romans charge or pursue an enemy, they encourage each other by calling out *feri feri, strike, strike them down*. What they take from the enemy in the field, they call by the general name of *spoils*, but those which a Roman general takes from the general of the enemy, they call *opime spoils*. It is indeed said, that Numa Pompilius, in his Commentaries, makes mention of *opime spoils* of the first, second, and third order: that he directed the first to be consecrated to Jupiter, the second to Mars, and the third to Quirinus; and that the persons who took the first should be rewarded with 300 *asses*, the second, with 200, and the third, 100. But the most received opinion is, that those of the first sort only should be honoured with the name *opime*, which a general takes in a pitched battle, when he kills the enemy's general with his own hand.

The Romans thought themselves so happy in the glorious period put to this war, that they made an offering to Apollo at Delphi of a golden cup in testimony of their gratitude: they also liberally shared the spoils with the confederate cities, and made a very handsome present out of them to Hiero, king of Syracuse, their friend and ally.

Some time after this, Hannibal having entered Italy, Marcellus was sent with a fleet to Sicily. The war continued to rage, and that unfortunate blow was received at Cannæ, by which many thousands of Romans fell. The few that escaped fled to Canusium; and it was expected that Hannibal, who had thus destroyed the strength of the Roman forces, would march directly to Rome. Hereupon, Marcellus first sent 1500 of his men to guard the city, and afterwards, by order of the senate, he went to Canusium, drew out the troops that had retired thither, and marched at their head to keep the country from being ravaged by the enemy.

The wars had by this time carried off the chief of the Roman nobility, and most of their best officers. Still, indeed, there remained Fabius Maximus, a man highly respected for his probity and prudence; but his extraordinary attention to the avoiding of loss passed for want of spirit and incapacity for action. The Romans, therefore, considering him as a proper person for the defensive, but not the offensive part of war, had recourse to Marcellus; and wisely tempering his boldness and activity with the slow and cautious conduct of Fabius, they sometimes appointed them consuls together, and sometimes sent out the one in the quality of

Consul, and the other in that of Proconsul. Posidonius tells us, that Fabius was called *the buckler*, and Marcellus *the sword*: but Hannibal himself said, "He stood in fear of Fabius as his school-master, and of Marcellus as his adversary: for he received hurt from the latter, and the former prevented his doing hurt himself."

Hannibal's soldiers, elated with their victory grew careless, and, straggling from the camp, roamed about the country; where Marcellus fell upon them, and cut off great numbers. After this, he went to the relief of Naples and Nola. The Neapolitans he confirmed in the Roman interest, to which they were themselves well inclined: but when he entered Nola, he found great divisions there, the senate of that city being unable to restrain the commonalty who were attached to Hannibal. There was a citizen in this place named Bandius, well born and celebrated for his valour: for he greatly distinguished himself in the battle of Cannæ, where, after killing a number of Carthaginians, he was at last found upon a heap of dead bodies, covered with wounds. Hannibal, admiring his bravery, dismissed him not only without ransom, but with handsome presents, honouring him with his friendship and admission to the rights of hospitality. Bandius, in gratitude for these favours, heartily espoused the party of Hannibal, and by his authority drew the people on to a revolt. Marcellus thought it wrong to put a man to death, who had gloriously fought the battles of Rome. Besides, the general had so engaging a manner grafted upon his native humanity, that he could hardly fail of attracting the regards of a man of a great and generous spirit. One day, Bandius happening to salute him, Marcellus asked who he was: not that he was a stranger to his person, but that he might have an opportunity to introduce what he had to say. Being told his name was Lucius Bandius, "What!" says Marcellus, in seeming admiration, "that Bandius who has been so much talked of in Rome for his gallant behaviour at Cannæ, who indeed was the only man that did not abandon the consul Æmilius, but received in his own body most of the shafts that were aimed at him!" Bandius saying, he was the very person, and showing some of his scars, "Why then," replied Marcellus, "when you bore about you such marks of your regard for us, did not you come to us one of the first? Do we seem to you slow to reward the virtue of a friend, who is honoured even by his enemies?" After this obliging discourse, he embraced him, and made him a present of a war horse, and 500 drachmas in silver.

From this time Bandius was very cordially attached to Marcellus, and constantly informed him of the proceedings of the opposite party who were very numerous, and who had resolved, when the Romans marched out against the enemy, to plunder their baggage. Hereupon Marcellus drew up his forces in order of battle within the city, placed the baggage near the gates, and published an edict, forbidding the inhabitants to appear upon the walls. Hannibal seeing no hostile appearance, concluded that everything was

in great disorder in the city, and therefore he approached it with little precaution. At this moment Marcellus commanded the gate that was next him to be opened, and sallying out with the best of his cavalry, he charged the enemy in front. Soon after the infantry rushed out at another gate, with loud shouts. And while Hannibal was dividing his forces, to oppose these two parties, a third gate was opened, and the rest of the Roman troops issuing out, attacked the enemy on another side, who were greatly disconcerted at such an unexpected sally, and who made but a faint resistance against those with whom they were first engaged, by reason of their being fallen upon by another body.

Then it was that Hannibal's men, struck with terror, and covered with wounds, first gave back before the Romans, and were driven to their camp. Above 5000 of them are said to have been slain, whereas of the Romans there fell not more than 500. Livy does not, indeed, make this defeat and loss on the Carthaginian side to have been so considerable; he only affirms that Marcellus gained great honour by this battle, and that the courage of the Romans was wonderfully restored after all their misfortunes, who now no longer believed that they had to do with an enemy that was invincible, but one who was liable to suffer in his turn.

For this reason, the people called Marcellus, though absent, to fill the place of one of the consuls¹ who was dead, and prevailed, against the sense of the magistrates, to have the election put off till his return. Upon his arrival, he was unanimously chosen consul; but *it happening to thunder at that time, the augurs saw that the omen was unfortunate*; and, as they did not choose to declare it such, for fear of the people,² Marcellus voluntarily laid down the office. Notwithstanding this, he had the command of the army continued to him, in quality of Proconsul, and returned immediately to Nola, from whence he made excursions to chastise those that had declared for the Carthaginians. Hannibal made haste to their assistance, and offered him battle, which he declined. But some days after, when he saw that Hannibal, no longer expecting a battle, had sent out the greatest part of his army to plunder the country, he attacked him vigorously, having first provided the foot with long spears, such as they use in sea-fights, which they were taught to hurl at the Carthaginians at a distance, who, for their part, were not skilled in the use of the javelin, and only fought hand to hand with short swords. For this reason all that

¹ This was Posthumus Albinus, who was cut off with all his army by the Boii in a vast forest, called by the Gauls the forest of Litana. It seems they had cut all the trees near the road he was to pass in such a manner that they might be tumbled upon his army with the least motion.

² Marcellus was a plebeian, as was also his colleague Flaminius; and the patricians, unwilling to see two plebeians

Consuls at the same time, influenced the augurs to pronounce the election of Marcellus disagreeable to the gods. But the people would not have acquiesced in the declaration of the augurs, had not Marcellus showed himself on this occasion as zealous a republican as he was a great commander, and refused that honour which had not the sanction of all his fellow-citizens.

attempted to make head against the Romans, were obliged to give way, and fly in great confusion, leaving 5000 men slain upon the field;¹ besides the loss of four elephants killed, and two taken. What was of still greater importance, the third day after the battle,² above 300 horse, Spaniards, and Numidians, came over to Marcellus. A misfortune which never before happened to Hannibal; for though his army was collected from several barbarous nations, different both in their manners and their language, yet he had a long time preserved a perfect unanimity throughout the whole. This body of horse ever continued faithful to Marcellus, and those that succeeded him in the command.³

Marcellus, being appointed consul the third time, passed over into Sicily.⁴ For Hannibal's great success had encouraged the Carthaginians again to support their claim to that island: and they did it the rather, because the affairs of Syracuse were in some confusion upon the death of Hieronymus⁵ its sovereign. On this account the Romans had already sent an army thither under the command of Appius Claudius.⁶

The command devolving upon Marcellus, he was no sooner arrived in Sicily, than a great number of Romans came to throw themselves at his feet, and represent to him their distress. Of those that fought against Hannibal at Cannæ, some escaped by flight, and others were taken prisoners; the latter in such numbers, that it was thought the Romans must want men to defend the walls of their capital. Yet that commonwealth had so much firmness and elevation of mind, that though Hannibal offered to release the prisoners for a very inconsiderable ransom, they refused it by a public act, and left them to be put to death or sold out of Italy. As for those that had saved themselves by flight, they sent them into Sicily, with an order not to set foot on Italian ground during the war with Hannibal. These came to Marcellus in a body, and

¹ On the Roman side there was not 1000 killed. Liv. lib. xxiii. c. 46.

² Livy makes them 1372. It is therefore probable that we should read in this place, 1300 horse.

³ Marcellus beat Hannibal a third time before Nola; and had Claudius Nero, who was sent out to take a circuit and attack the Carthaginians in the rear, come up in time, that day would probably have made regulars for the loss sustained at Cannæ. Liv. lib. xxiv. 17.

⁴ In the second year of Olympiad 141, the 539th of Rome, and æo 212.

⁵ Hieronymus was murdered by his own subjects at Leontium, the consulars having prevailed on Dinomenes, one of his guards, to favour their attack. He was the son of Gelo and the grandson of Hiero. His father Gelo died first, and afterwards his grandfather, being 90 years old; and Hieronymus, who was not then 15, was slain some months after. These three deaths happened towards the latter

end of the year that preceded Marcellus's third consulate.

⁶ Appius Claudius, who was sent into Sicily, in quality of prætor, was there before the death of Hieronymus. That young prince having a turn for rally, only laughed at the Roman Ambassadors: "I will ask you," said he, "but one question: Who were conquerors at Cannæ, you or the Carthaginians? I am told such surprising things of that battle, that I should be glad to know all the particulars of it." And again, "Let the Romans restore all the gold, the corn, and the other presents, that they drew from my grandfather, and consent that the river Lameria be the common boundary between us, and I will renew the ancient treaties with them." Some writers are of opinion that the Roman prætor was not entirely unconcerned in a plot which was so useful to his republic.

falling on their knees, begged with loud lamentations and floods of tears, the favour of being admitted again into the army, promising to make it appear by their future behaviour, that that defeat was owing to their misfortune, and not to their cowardice. Marcellus, moved with compassion, wrote to the senate, desiring leave to recruit his army with these exiles, as he should find occasion. After much deliberation, the senate signified by a decree, "*That the commonwealth had no need of the service of cowards: that Marcellus, however, might employ them if he pleased, but on condition that he did not bestow upon any of them crowns, or other honorary rewards.*" This decree gave Marcellus some uneasiness, and after he returned from the war in Sicily, he expostulated with the senate, and complained, "That for all his services they would not allow him to rescue from infamy those unfortunate citizens."

His first care, after he arrived in Sicily, was to make reprisals for the injury received from Hippocrates, the Syracusan general, who, to gratify the Carthaginians, and by their means to set himself up tyrant, had attacked the Romans, and killed great numbers of them, in the district of Leontium. Marcellus, therefore, laid siege to that city, and took it by storm, but did no harm to the inhabitants; only such deserters as he found there he ordered to be beaten with rods, and then put to death. Hippocrates took care to give the Syracusans the first notice of the taking of Leontium, assuring them at the same time, that Marcellus had put to the sword all that were able to bear arms; and while they were under great consternation at this news, he came suddenly upon the city, and made himself master of it.

Hereupon Marcellus marched with his whole army, and encamped before Syracuse. But before he attempted anything against it, he sent ambassadors with a true account of what he had done at Leontium. As this information had no effect with the Syracusans, who were entirely in the power of Hippocrates,¹ he made his attacks both by sea and land, Appius Claudius commanding the land forces, and himself the fleet, which consisted of 60 galleys, of five banks of oars, full of all sorts of arms and missive weapons. Besides these, he had a prodigious machine, carried upon eight galleys fastened together, with which he approached the walls, relying upon the number of his batteries, and other instruments of war, as well as on his own great character. But *Archimedes despised all this, and confided in the superiority of his engines*: though he did not think the inventing of them an object worthy of his serious studies, but only reckoned them among the amusements of geometry. Nor had he gone so far, but at the pressing instances of king Hiero, who entreated him to turn his art from abstracted notions to matters of sense, and to make his

¹ Hieronymus being assassinated, and the commonwealth restored, Hippocrates and Erycides, Hannibal's agents, being of Syracusan extraction, had the address to get themselves admitted into the num-

ber of praetors. In consequence of which, they found means to entreat the Syracusans with Rome, in spite of the opposition of such of the praetors as had the interest of their country at heart.

reasonings more intelligible to the generality of mankind, applying them to the uses of common life.

The first that turned their thoughts to *mechanics*, a branch of knowledge which came afterwards to be so much admired, were Eudoxus and Archytas, who thus gave a variety and an agreeable turn to geometry, and confirmed certain problems by sensible experiments and the use of instruments, which could not be demonstrated in the way of theorem. That problem, for example, of two mean proportional lines, which cannot be found out geometrically, and yet are so necessary for the solution of other questions, they solved mechanically, by the assistance of certain instruments called *mesolabes*, taken from conic sections. But when Plato inveighed against them, with great indignation, as corrupting and debasing the excellence of geometry, by making her descend from incorporeal and intellectual to corporeal and sensible things, and obliging her to make use of matter, which requires much manual labour, and is the object of servile trades; *then mechanics were separated from geometry, and being a long time despised by the philosopher, were considered as a branch of the military art.*

Archimedes one day asserted to king Hiero, whose kinsman and friend he was, this proposition, that with a given power he could move any given weight whatever; nay, it is said, from the confidence he had in his demonstration, he ventured to affirm, that if there was another earth besides this we inhabit, by going into that, he would move this wherever he pleased. Hiero, full of wonder, begged of him to evince the truth of his proposition by moving some great weight with a small power. In compliance with which, Archimedes caused one of the king's galleys to be drawn on shore with many hands and much labour; and having well manned her, and put on board her usual loading, he placed himself at a distance, and without any pains, only moving with his hand the end of a machine, which consisted of a variety of ropes and pulleys, he drew her to him in as smooth and gentle a manner as if she had been under sail. The king, quite astonished when he saw the force of his art, prevailed with Archimedes to make for him all manner of engines and machines which could be used either for attack or defence in a siege. These, however, he never made use of, the greatest part of his reign being blessed with tranquillity; but they were extremely serviceable to the Syracusans on the present occasion, who with such a number of machines, had the inventor to direct them.

When the Romans attacked them both by sea and land, they were struck dumb with terror, imagining they could not possibly resist such numerous forces and so furious an assault. But Archimedes soon began to play his engines, and they shot against the land forces all sorts of missive weapons and stones of an enormous size, with so incredible a noise and rapidity that nothing could stand before them; they overturned and crushed whatever came in their way, and spread terrible disorder throughout the

ranks. On the side towards the sea were erected vast machines, putting forth on a sudden, over the walls, huge beams with the necessary tackle, which striking with a prodigious force on the enemy's galleys, sunk them at once; while other ships hoisted up at the prows by iron grapples or hooks,¹ like the beaks of cranes, and set on end on the stern, were plunged to the bottom of the sea; and others again by ropes and grapples, were drawn towards the shore, and after being whirled about, and dashed against the rocks that projected below the walls, were broken to pieces, and the crews perished. Very often a ship lifted high above the sea, suspended and twirling in the air, presented a most dreadful spectacle. There it swung till the men were thrown out by the violence of the motion, and then it split against the walls, or sunk, on the engine's letting go its hold. As for the machine which Marcellus brought forward upon eight galleys, and which was called *sambuca*, on account of its likeness to the musical instrument of that name, whilst it was at a considerable distance from the walls, Archimedes discharged a stone of ten talents weight,² and after that a second and a third, all which striking upon it with an amazing noise and force, shattered and totally disjointed it.

Marcellus, in this distress, drew off his galleys as fast as possible, and sent orders to the land forces to retreat likewise. He then called a council of war, at which it was resolved to come close to the walls, if it was possible, next morning before day. For Archimedes's engines, they thought, being very strong and intended to act at a considerable distance, would then discharge themselves over their heads; and if they were pointed at them when they were so near, they would have no effect. But for this Archimedes had long been prepared, having by him engines fitted to all distances, with suitable weapons and shorter beams. Besides, he had caused holes to be made in the walls, in which he placed *scorpions*, that did not carry far, but could be very fast discharged; and by these the enemy was galled, without knowing whence the weapon came.

When, therefore, the Romans were got close to the walls, undiscovered as they thought, they were welcomed with a shower of darts, and huge pieces of rocks, which fell as it were per-

¹ What most harassed the Romans was a sort of crow with two claws, fastened to a long chain, which was let down by a kind of lever. The weight of the iron made it fall with great violence, and drove it into the planks of the galleys. Then the lever, by a great weight of lead at the other end of the lever, weighed it down, and consequently raised up the iron of the crow in proportion, and with it the prow of the galley to which it was fastened, sinking the poop at the same time into the water. After this, the crow letting go its hold all on a sudden, the prow of the galley fell with such force into the sea, that the whole vessel was filled with water and sunk.

² It is not easy to conceive how the machines formed by Archimedes could throw stones of 10 quintals or talents—that is, 1,250 lbs. weight—at the ships of Marcellus, when they were at a considerable distance from the walls. The account which Polybius gives us is much more probable. He says that the stones that were thrown by the *ballistæ* made by Archimedes, were of the weight of ten lbs. Livy seems to agree with Polybius. Indeed, if we suppose that Pintarch did not mean the talent of 125 lbs., but the talent of Sicily, which some say weighed 25 lbs., and others only ten, his account comes more within the bounds of probability.

pendicularly upon their heads ; for the engines played from every quarter of the walls. This obliged them to retire : and when they were at some distance, other shafts were shot at them, in their retreat, from the larger machines, which made terrible havoc among them, as well as greatly damaged their shipping, without any possibility of their annoying the Syracusans in their turn. For Archimedes had placed most of his engines under covert of the walls ; so that the Romans, being infinitely distressed by an invisible enemy, seemed to fight against the gods.

Marcellus, however, got off, and laughed at his own artillery-men and engineers. "Why do not we leave off contending," said he, "with this mathematical Briareus, who, sitting on the shore, and acting as it were but in jest, has shamefully baffled our naval assault ; and, in striking us with such a multitude of bolts at once, exceeds even the hundred-handed giants in the fable ?" And, in truth, all the rest of the Syracusans were no more than the body in the batteries of Archimedes, while he himself was the informing soul. All other weapons lay idle and unemployed ; his were the only offensive and defensive arms of the city. At last the Romans were so terrified, that if they saw but a rope or a stick put over the walls, they cried out that Archimedes was levelling some machine at them, and turned their backs and fled. Marcellus seeing this, gave up all thoughts of proceeding by assault, and leaving the matter to time, turned the siege into a blockade.

Yet Archimedes had such a depth of understanding, such a dignity of sentiment, and so copious a fund of mathematical knowledge, that, though in the invention of these machines he gained the reputation of a man endowed with divine rather than human knowledge, yet he did not vouchsafe to leave any account of them in writing. For he considered all attention to *mechanics*, and every art that ministers to common uses, as mean and sordid, and placed his whole delight in those intellectual speculations, which, without any relation to the necessities of life, have an intrinsic excellence arising from truth and demonstration only. Indeed, if mechanical knowledge is valuable for the curious frame and amazing power of those machines which it produces, the other infinitely excels on account of its invincible force and conviction. And certainly it is, that abstruse and profound questions in geometry are nowhere solved by a more simple process and upon clearer principles, than in the writings of Archimedes. Some ascribe this to the acuteness of his genius, and others to his indefatigable industry, by which he made things that cost a great deal of pains appear unlaboured and easy. In fact, it is almost impossible for a man of himself to find out the demonstration of his propositions, but as soon as he had learned it from him, he will think he could have done it without assistance ; such a ready and easy way does he lead us to what he wants to prove. We are not, therefore, to reject as incredible, what is related of him, that being perpetually charmed by a domestic syren, that is, his geometry, he neglected his meat and drink, and took no care of his person ; that he was often carried by

force to the baths, and when there he would make mathematical figures in the ashes, and with his finger draw lines upon his body, when it was anointed, so much was he transported with intellectual delight, such an enthusiast in science. And though he was the author of many curious and excellent discoveries, yet he is said to have desired his friends only to place on his tombstone a cylinder containing a sphere,¹ and to set down the proportion which the containing solid bears to the contained. Such was Archimedes, who exerted all his skill to defend himself and the town against the Romans.

During the siege of Syracuse, Marcellus went against Megara, one of the most ancient cities of Sicily, and took it. He also fell upon Hippocrates, as he was entrenching himself at Acrillæ, and killed about 8,000 of his men.¹ Nay, he overran the greatest part of Sicily, brought over several cities from the Carthaginian interest, and beat all that attempted to face him in the field.

Some time after, when he returned to Syracuse, he surprised one Damippus, a Spartan, as he was sailing out of the harbour; and the Syracusans being very desirous to ransom him, several conferences were held about it; in one of which Marcellus took notice of a tower but slightly guarded, into which a number of men might be privately conveyed, the wall that led to it being easy to be scaled. As they often met to confer at the foot of this tower, he made a good estimate of its height, and provided himself with proper scaling ladders, and observed that on the festival of Diana, the Syracusans drank freely and gave a loose to mirth, he not only possessed himself of the tower, undiscovered, but before daylight filled the walls of that quarter with soldiers, and forcibly entered the Hexapylum. The Syracusans, as soon as they perceived it, began to move about in great confusion; but Marcellus ordering all the trumpets to sound at once, they were seized with consternation, and betook themselves to flight, believing that the whole city was lost. However, the Achradina, which was the strongest, the most extensive, and fairest part of it, was not taken, being divided by walls from the rest of the city, one part of which was called

¹ Cicero, when he was questor in Sicily, discovered this monument, and showed it to the Syracusans, who knew not that it was in being. He says there were verses inscribed upon it, expressing that a cylinder and a sphere had been put upon the tomb; the proportion between which two solids Archimedes first discovered. From the death of this great mathematician, which fell in the year of Rome 542, to the questorship of Cicero, which was in the year of Rome 678, 136 years were elapsed. Though time had not quite obliterated the cylinder and the sphere, it had put an end to the learning of Syracuse, once so respectable in the republic of letters.

² Himilco had entered the port of

Heraclea with a numerous fleet sent from Carthage, and landed 20,000 foot, 8,000 horse, and 12 elephants. His forces were no sooner set ashore, than he marched against Agrigentum, which he retook from the Romans, with several other cities lately reduced by Marcellus. Hereupon the Syracusan garrison, which was yet entire, determined to send out Hippocrates with 10,000 foot, and 1,500 horse, to join Himilco. Marcellus, after having made a vain attempt upon Agrigentum, was returning to Syracuse. As he drew near Acrillæ, he unexpectedly discovered Hippocrates busy in fortifying his camp, fell upon him before he had time to draw up his army, and cut 8,000 of them in pieces.

Neapolis,¹ and the other Tyche. The enterprise thus prospering, Marcellus at daybreak moved down from the Hexapylum into the city, where he was congratulated by his officers on the great event.² But it is said, that he himself, when he surveyed from an eminence that great and magnificent city, shed many tears, in pity of its impending fate, reflecting into what a scene of misery and desolation its fair appearance would be changed, when it came to be sacked and plundered by the soldiers. For the troops demanded the plunder, and not one of the officers durst oppose it. Many even insisted that the city should be burned and levelled with the ground; but to this Marcellus absolutely refused his consent. It was with reluctance that he gave up the effects and the slaves; and he strictly charged the soldiers not to touch any free man or woman, not to kill or abuse, or make a slave of any citizen whatever.

But though he acted with so much moderation, the city had harder measure than he wished, and amidst the great and general joy, his soul sympathised with its sufferings, when he considered that in a few hours the prosperity of such a flourishing state would be no more. It is even said, that the plunder of Syracuse was as rich as that of Carthage after it. For the rest of the city was soon betrayed to the Romans, and pillaged, only the royal treasure was preserved, and carried into the public treasury at Rome.

But what most of all afflicted Marcellus, was the unhappy fate of Archimedes; who was at that time in his study, engaged in some mathematical researches; and his mind, as well as his eye, was so intent upon his diagram, that he neither heard the tumultuous noise of the Romans, nor perceived that the city was taken. A soldier suddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to Marcellus; and Archimedes refusing to do it, till he had finished his

¹ Epipolæ was entered in the night, and Tyche next morning. Epipolæ was encompassed with the same wall as Ortygia, Achradina, Tyche, and Neapolis; had its own citadel called Euryalum on the top of a steep rock, and was, as we may say, a fifth city.

² The siege of Syracuse lasted in the whole three years; no small part of which passed after Marcellus entered Tyche. As Plutarch has run so slightly over the subsequent events, it may not be amiss to give a summary detail of them from Livy. Epicydes, who had his headquarters in the farthest part of Ortygia, hearing that the Romans had seized on Epipolæ and Tyche, went to drive them from their posts; but finding much greater numbers than he expected got into the town, after a slight skirmish he retired. Marcellus, unwilling to destroy the city, tried gentle methods with the inhabitants; but the Syracusans rejected his proposals; and their general appointed the Roman deserters to guard Achradina, which they did with extreme care, knowing, that if the town were taken by com-

position they must die. Marcellus then turned his arms against the fortress of Euryalum, which he hoped to reduce in a short time by famine. Philodemus, who commanded there, kept him in play some time, in hope of succours from Hippocrates and Himilco; but finding himself disappointed, he surrendered the place, on condition of being allowed to march out with his men and join Epicydes. Marcellus, now master of Euryalum, blocked up Achradina so close that it could not hold out long without new supplies of men and provisions. But Hippocrates and Himilco soon arrived; and it was resolved that Hippocrates should attack the old camp of the Romans with out the walls, commanded by Crispinus, while Epicydes sallied out upon Marcellus. Hippocrates was vigorously repulsed by Crispinus, who pursued him up to his entrenchments, and Epicydes was forced to return into Achradina with great loss, and narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by Marcellus. The unfortunate Syracusans were now in the greatest distress for want of provisions;

problem, and brought his demonstration to bear, the soldier, in a passion, drew his sword and killed him. Others say, the soldier came up to him at first with a drawn sword to kill him, and Archimedes perceiving him, begged he would hold his hand a moment, that he might not leave his theorem imperfect; but the soldier, neither regarding him nor his theorem, laid him dead at his feet. A third account of the matter is, that, as Archimedes was carrying in a box some mathematical instruments to Marcellus, as sundials, spheres, and quadrants, by which the eye might measure the magnitude of the sun, some soldiers met him, and imagining that there was gold in the box, took away his life for it. It is agreed, however, on all hands, that Marcellus was much concerned at his death; that he turned away his face from his murderer, as from an impious and execrable person; and that having by inquiry found out his relations, he bestowed upon them many signal favours.

Hitherto the Romans had shown other nations their abilities to plan, and their courage to execute, but they had given them no proof of their clemency, their humanity, or, in one word, of their political virtue. *Marcellus seems to have been the first who made it appear, to the Greeks, that the Romans had greater regard to equity than they.* For such was his goodness to those that addressed him, and so many benefits did he confer upon cities as well as private persons, that if Enna, Megara, and Syracuse were treated harshly, the blame of that severity was rather to be charged on the sufferers themselves, than on those who chastised them.

I shall mention one of the many instances of this great man's moderation. There is in Sicily a town called Enguium, not large, indeed, but very ancient, and celebrated for the appearance of the goddesses called the *Mothers*.¹ The temple is said to have been built by the Cretans, and they show some spears and brazen helmets, inscribed with the names of Meriones and Ulysses, who consecrated them to these goddesses. This town was strongly in-

and to complete their misery a plague broke out among them; of which Himilco and Hisperates died, with many thousands more. Hereupon, Bomilcar sailed to Carthage again for fresh supplies; and returned to Sicily with a large fleet; but hearing of the great preparations of the Romans at sea, and probably fearing the event of a battle, he unexpectedly steered away. Epicydes, who was gone out to meet him, was afraid to return into a city half taken, and therefore fled for refuge to Agrigentum. The Syracusans then assassinated the governors left by Epicydes, and proposed to submit to Marcellus. For which purpose they sent deputies, who were graciously received. But the garrison, which consisted of Roman deserters and mercenaries, raising fresh disturbances, killed the officers appointed by the Syracusans, and chose six new ones of their own. Among these was a Samian named Mexicus, a man of

great integrity, who disapproving of the cruelties of his party, determined to give up the place to Marcellus. In pursuance of which, under pretences of greater care than ordinary, he desired that each governor might have the sole direction in his own quarter; which gave him an opportunity to open the gate of Arethusa to the Roman general. And now Marcellus being at length become master of the unfaithful city, gave signal proofs of his clemency and good nature. He suffered the Roman deserters to escape; for he was unwilling to shed the blood even of traitors. No wonder then if he spared the lives of the Syracusans and their children; though, as he told them, the services which good king Hiero had rendered Rome were exceeded by the insults they had offered her in a few years.

¹ These are supposed to be Cybe's, Juno, and Ceres. Cicero mentions a temple of Cybele at Enguium.

clined to favour the Carthaginians ; but Nicias, one of its principal inhabitants, endeavoured to persuade them to go over to the Romans, declaring his sentiments freely in their public assemblies, and proving that his opposers consulted not their true interests. These men, fearing his authority and the influence of his character, resolved to carry him off and put him in the hands of the Carthaginians. Nicias, apprised of it, took measures for his security, without seeming to do so. He publicly gave out unbecoming speeches against the *Mothers*, as if he disbelieved and made light of the received opinion concerning the presence of those goddesses there. Meantime, his enemies rejoiced that he himself furnished them with sufficient reasons for the worst they could do to him. On the day which they had fixed for seizing him, there happened to be an assembly of the people, and Nicias was in the midst of them, treating about some public business. But on a sudden he threw himself upon the ground, in the midst of his discourse, and, after having laid there some time without speaking, as if he had been in a trance, he lifted up his head and turning it round, began to speak with a feeble trembling voice, which he raised by degrees : and when he saw the whole assembly struck dumb with horror, he threw off his mantle, tore his vest in pieces, and ran half naked to one of the doors of the theatre, crying out that he was pursued by the *Mothers*. From a scruple of religion no one durst touch or stop him ; all, therefore, making way, he reached one of the city gates, though he no longer used any word or action, like one that was heaven-struck and distracted. His wife, who was in the secret, and assisted in the stratagem, took her children, and went and prostrated herself as a suppliant before the altar of the goddesses. Then pretending that she was going to seek her husband, who was wandering about in the fields, she met with no opposition, but got safe out of the town ; and so both of them escaped to Marcellus at Syracuse. The people of Enguium added many other insults and misdemeanours to their past faults, Marcellus came, and had them loaded with irons, in order to punish them. But Nicias approached him with tears in his eyes, and kissing his hands and embracing his knees, asked pardon for all the citizens, and for his enemies first. Hereupon Marcellus, relenting, set them all at liberty, and suffered not his troops to commit the least disorder in the city ; at the same time he bestowed on Nicias a large tract of land, and many rich gifts. These particulars we learn from Posidonius the philosopher.

Marcellus,¹ after this, being called home to a war in the heart of Italy, *carried with him the most valuable of the statues and paintings in Syracuse, that they might embellish his triumph, and be an ornament to Rome. For before this time, that city neither had nor knew any curiosities of this kind; being a stranger to the charms of taste*

¹ Marcellus, before he left Sicily, gained a considerable victory over Epicydes and Hanno ; he slew great numbers, and took

many prisoners, besides eight elephants. Liv. lib. xxv. 40.

and elegance. Full of arms taken from barbarous nations, and of bloody spoils, and crowned as she was with trophies and other monuments of her triumphs, she afforded not a cheerful and pleasing spectacle, fit for men brought up in ease and luxury, but her look was awful and severe. And as Epaminondas calls the plains of Boeotia *the orchestra, or stage of Mars*, and Xenophon says Ephesus was *the arsenal of war*, so in my opinion, (to use the expression of Pindar,) one might then have styled Rome *the temple of frowning MARS*.

Thus Marcellus was more acceptable to the people, because he adorned the city with curiosities in the Grecian taste, whose variety, as well as elegance, was very agreeable to the spectator. But the graver citizens preferred Fabius Maximus, who when he took Tarentum, brought nothing of that kind away. The money, indeed, and other rich movables he carried off, but he let the statues and pictures remain, using this memorable expression, *Let us leave the Tarentines their angry deities*. They blamed the proceedings of Marcellus, in the first place, as very invidious for Rome, because he had led not only men, but the very gods in triumph; and their next charge was, that he had spoiled a people inured to agriculture and war, wholly unacquainted with luxury and sloth, and, as Euripides says of Hercules,

"In vice untought, but skill'd where glory led to arduous enterprise."

by furnishing them with an occasion of idleness and vain discourse; for they now began to spend great part of the day in disputing about arts and artists. But notwithstanding such censures, this was the very thing that Marcellus valued himself upon, even to the Greeks themselves, that he was the first who taught the Romans to esteem and to admire the exquisite performances of Greece, which were hitherto unknown to them.

Finding, at his return, that his enemies opposed his triumph, and considering that the war was not quite finished in Sicily, as well as that a third triumph might expose him to the envy of his fellow-citizens, he so far yielded as to content himself with leading up the greater triumph on mount Alba, and entering Rome with the less. *The less is called by the Greeks evan, and by the Romans an ovation. In this the general does not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horses, he is not crowned with laurel, nor has he trumpets sounding before him, but he walks in sandals, attended with the music of many flutes, and wearing a crown of myrtle; his appearance, therefore, having nothing in it warlike, is rather pleasing than formidable. This is to me a plain proof, that triumphs of old were distinguished, not by the importance of the achievement, but by the manner of its performance. For those that subdued their enemies, by fighting battles and spilling much blood, entered with that warlike and dreadful pomp of the greater triumph, and, as is customary in the lustration of an army, wore crowns of laurel, and adorned their arms with the same. But when a general, without fighting,*

gained his point by treaty and the force of persuasion, the law decreed him this honour, called *Ovation*, which had more the appearance of a festival than of war. For the flute is an instrument used in time of peace; and the myrtle is the tree of Venus, who, of all the deities, is most averse to violence and war.

Now the term *ovation* is not derived (as most authors think) from the word *evan*, which is uttered in shouts of joy, for they have the same shouts and songs in the other triumph; but the Greeks have wrested it to a word well known in their language, believing that this procession is intended in some measure in honour of Bacchus, whom they call *Evius* and *Thriambus*. The truth of the matter is this: *it was customary for the generals, in the greater triumphs, to sacrifice an ox; and in the less a sheep, in Latin ovis, whence the word ovation.* On this occasion it is worth our while to observe, how different the institutions of the Spartan legislator were from those of the Roman, with respect to sacrifices. In Sparta, the general who put a period to a war by policy or persuasion, sacrificed a bullock; but he whose success was owing to force of arms, offered only a cock. For though they were a very warlike people, they thought it more honourable, and more worthy of a human being, to succeed by eloquence and wisdom, than by courage and force.

When Marcellus was chosen consul the fourth time, the Syracusans, at the instigation of his enemies, came to Rome to accuse him, and to complain to the senate, that he had treated them in a cruel manner, and contrary to the faith of treaties.¹ It happened that Marcellus was at that time in the Capitol, offering sacrifice. The Syracusan deputies went immediately to the senate, who were yet sitting, and falling on their knees, begged of them to hear their complaints, and to do them justice: but the other consul repulsed them with indignation, because Marcellus was not there to defend himself. Marcellus, however, being informed of it, came with all possible expedition, and having seated himself in his chair of state, first despatched some public business as consul. When that was over, he came down from his seat, and went as a private person to the place appointed for the accused to make their defence in, giving the Syracusans opportunity to make good their charge. But they were greatly confounded to see the dignity and unconcern with which he behaved; and he who had been irresistible in arms, was still more awful and terrible to behold in his robe of purple. Nevertheless, encouraged by his enemies, they opened the accusation in a speech, mingled with lamentations, the sum of which was, "That, though friends and allies of Rome, they had suffered more damage from Marcellus, than some other generals had permitted to be done to a conquered enemy." To this, Marcellus made answer,² "That,

¹ The Syracusans were scarce arrived at Rome, before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, and Sicily fell to Marcellus. This was a great stroke to the Syracusan deputies, and they would not have dared to prosecute their charge, had

not Marcellus voluntarily offered to change the provinces.

² When the Syracusans had finished their accusations against Marcellus, his colleague, Levidius, ordered them to withdraw; but Marcellus desired they might stay and hear his defence.

notwithstanding the many instances of their criminal behaviour to the Romans, they had suffered nothing but what it is impossible to prevent, when a city is taken by storm ; and that Syracuse was so taken, was entirely their own fault, because he had often summoned it to surrender, and they refused to listen to him. That, in short, they were not forced by their tyrants to commit hostilities, but they had themselves set up tyrants for the sake of going to war."

The reasons of both sides thus heard, the Syracusans, according to the custom in that case, withdrew, and Marcellus went out with them, leaving it to his colleague to collect the votes. While he stood at the door of the senate-house,¹ he was neither moved with the fear of the issue of the cause, nor with resentment against the Syracusans, so as to change his usual deportment, but with great mildness and decorum he waited for the event. When the cause was decided, and he was declared to have gained it,² the Syracusans fell at his feet, and besought him with tears to pardon not only those that were present, but to take compassion on the rest of their citizens, who would ever acknowledge with gratitude the favour. Marcellus, moved with their entreaties, not only pardoned the deputies, but continued his protection to the other Syracusans ; and the senate, approving the privileges he had granted, confirmed to them their liberty, their laws, and the possessions that remained to them. For this reason, beside other signal honours with which they distinguished Marcellus, they made a law, that whenever he or any of his descendants entered Sicily, the Syracusans should wear garlands, and offer sacrifices to the gods.

After this, Marcellus marched against Hannibal. And though almost all the other consuls and generals, after the defeat at Cannæ, availed themselves of the single art of avoiding an engagement with the Carthaginian, not one of them durst meet him fairly in the field. Marcellus took quite a different course. He was of opinion, that instead of Hannibal's being worn out by length of time, the strength of Italy would be insensibly wasted by him ; and that the slow cautious maxims of Fabius were not fit to cure the malady of his country ; since, by pursuing them, the flames of war could not be extinguished, until Italy was consumed : just as timorous physicians neglect to apply strong, though necessary remedies, thinking the distemper will abate with the strength of the patient.

In the first place, he recovered the best towns of the Samnites, which had revolted. In them he found considerable magazines of corn and a great quantity of money, beside making 3000 of Hanni-

¹ While the cause was debating, he went to the capitol, to take the names of the new levies.

² The conduct of Marcellus, on the taking of Syracuse, was not entirely approved of at Rome. Some of the senators remembering the attachment which king Hiero had on all occasions shown to their republic, could not help condemning

their general for giving up the city to be plundered by his rapacious soldiers. The Syracusans were not in a condition to make good their party against an army of mercenaries ; and therefore were obliged against their will to yield to the times, and obey the measures of Hannibal, who commanded the army.

bal's men, who garrisoned them, prisoners. In the next place, when Cneius Fulvius the proconsul, with eleven tribunes, was slain, and great part of his army cut in pieces, by Hannibal in Apulia, Marcellus sent letters to Rome, to exhort the citizens to be of good courage, for he himself was on his march to drive Hannibal out of the country. The reading of these letters, Livy tells us, was so far from removing their grief, that it added terror to it, the Romans reckoning the present danger as much greater than the past, as Marcellus was a greater man than Fulvius.

Marcellus then going in quest of Hannibal, according to his promise, entered Lucania, and found him encamped on inaccessible heights near the city of Numistro. Marcellus himself pitched his tents on the plain, and, the next day, was the first to draw up his forces in order of battle. Hannibal declined not the combat, but descended from the hills, and a battle ensued, which was not decisive indeed, but great and bloody: for though the action began at the third hour, it was with difficulty that night put a stop to it. Next morning, by break of day, Marcellus again drew up his army, and posting it among the dead bodies, challenged Hannibal to dispute it with him for the victory. But Hannibal chose to draw off; and Marcellus, after he had gathered the spoils of the enemy, and buried his own dead, marched in pursuit of him. Though the Carthaginian laid many snares for him, he escaped them all; and having the advantage too in all skirmishes, his success was looked upon with admiration. Therefore, when the time of the next election came on, the senate thought proper to call the other consul out of Sicily, rather than draw off Marcellus, who was grappling with Hannibal. When he was arrived, they ordered him to declare Quintus Fulvius dictator. For a *DICTATOR* is not named either by the people or the senate, but one of the consuls or prætors, advancing into the assembly, names whom he pleases. Hence some think, the term *Dictator* comes from *dicere*, which in Latin signifies *to name*: but others assert, that the *Dictator* is so called, because he refers nothing to plurality of voices in the senate or to the suffrages of the people, but gives his orders at his own pleasure. For the orders of magistrates, which the Greeks call *diatagmata*, the Romans call *edicta*, edicts.

The colleague¹ of Marcellus was disposed to appoint another person dictator, and that he might not be obliged to depart from his own opinion, he left Rome by night, and sailed back to Sicily. The people, therefore, named Quintus Fulvius dictator, and the senate wrote to Marcellus to confirm the nomination, which he did accordingly.

Marcellus was appointed proconsul for the year following; and having agreed with Fabius Maximus the consul by letters, that Fabius should besiege Tarentum, while himself was to watch the

¹ Lævinus, who was the colleague of Marcellus, wanted to name M. Valerius Maximus dictator. As he left Rome abruptly, and enjoined the prætor not to

name Fulvius, the tribunes of the people took upon them to do it, and the senate got the nomination confirmed by the consul Marcellus.

motions of Hannibal, and prevent his relieving the place, he marched after him with all diligence, and came up with him at Canusium. And as Hannibal shifted his camp continually, to avoid coming to a battle, Marcellus watched him closely, and took care to keep him in sight. At last, coming up with him as he was encamping, he so harassed him with skirmishes, that he drew him to an engagement; but night soon came on, and parted the combatants. Next morning early, he drew his army out of the entrenchments, and put them in order of battle; so that Hannibal, in great vexation, assembled the Carthaginians, and begged of them to exert themselves more in that battle than ever they had done before. "For you see," said he, "that we can neither take breath, after so many victories already gained, nor enjoy the least leisure if we are victorious now, unless this man be driven off."

After this, a battle ensued, in which Marcellus seems to have miscarried by an unseasonable movement.¹ For seeing his right wing hard pressed, he ordered one of the legions to advance to the front, to support them. This movement put the whole army in disorder and decided the day in favour of the enemy; 2700 Romans being slain upon the spot. Marcellus retreated into his camp, and having summoned his troops together, told them, "*He saw the arms and bodies of Romans in abundance before him, but not one Roman.*" On their begging pardon, he said, "He would not forgive them while vanquished, but when they came to be victorious he would; and that he would lead them into the field again the next day, that the news of the victory might reach Rome before that of their flight." Before he dismissed them, *he gave orders that barley should be measured out instead of wheat*² to those companies that had turned their backs. His reprimand made such an impression on them, that though many were dangerously wounded, there was not a man who did not feel more pain from the words of Marcellus, than he did from his wounds.

Next morning, the scarlet robe, which was the ordinary signal of battle, was hung out betimes; and the companies that had come off with dishonour before obtained leave, at their earnest request, to be posted in the foremost line: after which the tribunes drew up the rest of the troops in their proper order. When this was reported to Hannibal, he said, "Ye gods, what can one do with a man, who is not affected with either good or bad fortune? This is the only man who will neither give any time to rest when he is victorious, nor take any when he is beaten. We must even resolve to fight with him for ever; since, *whether prosperous or unsuccessful, a principle of honour leads him on to new attempts and farther exertions of courage.*"

¹ The movement was not unseasonable, but ill executed. Livy says, the right wing gave way faster than they needed to have done, and the eighteenth legion, which was ordered to advance from rear to front moved too slowly; this occasioned the disorder.

² This was a common punishment. Besides which, he ordered that the officers of those companies should continue all day long with their swords drawn and without their girdles. Liv. xxvii. 12.

Both armies then engaged, and Hannibal seeing no advantage gained by either, ordered his elephants to be brought forward into the first line, and to be pushed against the Romans. The shock caused great confusion at first in the Roman front; but, Flavius, a tribune, snatching an ensign staff from one of the companies, advanced, and with the point of it wounded the foremost elephant. The beast upon this turned back and ran upon the second, the second upon the next that followed, and so on till they were all put in great disorder. Marcellus observing this, ordered his horse to fall furiously upon the enemy, and taking advantage of the confusion already made, to rout them entirely. Accordingly, they charged with extraordinary vigour, and drove the Carthaginians to their entrenchments. The slaughter was dreadful; and the fall of the killed, and the plunging of the wounded elephants, contributed greatly to it. It is said that more than 8000 Carthaginians fell in this battle; of the Romans not above 3000 were slain, but almost all the rest were wounded. This gave Hannibal opportunity to decamp silently in the night, and remove to a great distance from Marcellus, who, by reason of the number of his wounded, was not able to pursue him, but retired, by easy marches, into Campania, and passed the summer in the city of Sinuessa¹ to recover and refresh his soldiers.

Hannibal, thus disengaged from Marcellus, made use of his troops, now at liberty, and securely overran the country, burning and destroying all before him. This gave occasion to unfavourable reports of Marcellus at Rome; and his enemies incited Publius Bibulus, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of violent temper, and a vehement speaker, to accuse him in form. Accordingly Bibulus often assembled the people, and endeavoured to persuade them to take the command from him, and give it to another; "Since Marcellus," said he, "has only exchanged a few thrusts with Hannibal, and then left the stage, and is gone to the hot baths to refresh himself,"²

When Marcellus was apprised of these practices against him, he left his army in charge with his lieutenants, and went to Rome to make his defence. On his arrival, he found an impeachment framed out of those calumnies.—And the day fixed for it being come, and the people assembled in the Flaminian Circus, Bibulus ascended the tribune's seat and set forth his charge. Marcellus's answer was plain and short: but many persons of distinction among the citizens exerted themselves greatly, and spoke with much freedom, exhorting the people not to judge worse of Marcellus than the enemy himself had done, by fixing a mark of cowardice upon the only general whom Hannibal shunned, and used as much

¹ Livy says in Venusia, which being much nearer Cannidium was more convenient for the wounded men to retire to.

² There were hot baths near Sinuessa, but none near Venusia. Therefore, if

Marcellus went to the latter place, the satirical stroke was not applicable. Accordingly Livy does not apply it; he only makes Bibulus say, that Marcellus passed the summer in quarters.

art and care to avoid fighting with, as he did to seek the combat with others. These remonstrances had such an effect, that the accuser was totally disappointed in his expectations; for *Marcellus was not only acquitted of the charge, but a fifth time chosen consul.*

As soon as he had entered upon his office, he visited the cities of Tuscany, and by his personal influence allayed a dangerous commotion, that tended to a revolt. At his return, *he was desirous to dedicate to Honour and Virtue the temple which he had built out of the Sicilian spoils, but was opposed by the priests, who would not consent that two deities should be contained in one temple.*¹ Taking this opposition ill, and considering it as ominous, he began another temple.

There were many other prodigies that gave him uneasiness. *Some temples were struck with lightning; in that of Jupiter rats gnawed the gold; it was even reported that an ox spoke, and that there was a child living which was born with an elephant's head:* and when the expiation of these prodiges was attempted, there were no tokens of success. The *Augurs*, therefore, kept him in Rome, notwithstanding his impatience and eagerness to be gone. For never was man so passionately desirous of anything as he was of fighting a decisive battle with Hannibal. It was his dream by night, the subject of conversation all day with his friends and colleagues, and his sole request to the gods, that he might meet Hannibal fairly in the field. Nay, I verily believe, he would have been glad to have had both armies surrounded with a wall or entrenchment, and to have fought in that enclosure. Indeed, had he not already attained to such a height of glory, had he not given so many proofs of his equalling the best generals in prudence and discretion, I should think he gave way to a sanguine and extravagant ambition, unsuitable to his years; for he was above sixty when he entered upon his fifth consulate.

At last, the expiatory sacrifices being such as the soothsayers approved, he set out with his colleague, to prosecute the war, and fixed his camp between Bantia and Venusia. There he tried every method to provoke Hannibal to a battle which he constantly declined. But the Carthaginian perceiving that the consul had ordered some troops to go and lay siege to the city of the *Episephirians*, or western Locrians,² he laid an ambuscade on their way, under the hill of Petelia, and killed 2500 of them. This added stings to Marcellus's desire of an engagement, and made him draw nearer to the enemy.

Between the two armies was a hill, which afforded a pretty strong

¹ They said, if the temple should be struck with thunder and lightning, or any other prodigy should happen to it that wanted expiation, they should not know to which of the deities they ought to offer the expiatory sacrifice. Marcellus, therefore, to satisfy the priest, began another temple, and the work was carried on with great diligence; but he did

not live to dedicate it. His son consecrated both the temples about four years after.

² This was not a detachment from the forces of the consuls, which they did not choose to weaken when in the sight of such an enemy as Hannibal. It consisted of troops drawn from Sicily, and from the garrison of Tarentum.

post ; it was covered with thickets, and on both sides were hollows, from whence issued springs and rivulets. The Romans were surprised that Hannibal, who came first to so advantageous a place, did not take possession of it, but left it for the enemy. He did, indeed, think it a good place for a camp, but a better for an ambuscade, and to that use he chose to put it. He filled, therefore, the thickets and hollows with a good number of archers and spearmen, assuring himself that the convenience of the post would draw the Romans to it. Nor was he mistaken in his conjecture. Presently nothing was talked of in the Roman army but the expediency of seizing this hill ; and, as if they had been all generals, they set forth the many advantages they should have over the enemy, by encamping, or, at least, raising a fortification upon it. Thus Marcellus was induced to go with a few horse to take a view of the hill ; but, before he went, he offered sacrifice. In the first victim that was slain, the diviner showed him the liver without a head ; in the second, the head was very plump and large, and the other tokens appearing remarkably good, seemed sufficient to dispel the fears of the first ; but the diviners declared, they were the more alarmed on that very account ; for when favourable signs on a sudden follow threatening and inauspicious ones, the strangeness of the alteration should rather be suspected. But as Pindar says,

" Nor fire, nor walls of trip's brass control the high behests of Fate."

He therefore set out to view the place, taking with him his colleague Crispinus, his son Marcellus, who was a tribune, and only 220 horse, among whom there was not one Roman ; they were all Tuscans, except 40 Fregellanians, of whose courage and fidelity he had sufficient experience. On the summit of the hill, which was covered with trees and bushes, the enemy had placed a sentinel, who, without being seen himself, could see every movement in the Roman camp. Those that lay in ambush having intelligence from him of what was doing, lay close till Marcellus came very near, and then all at once rushed out, spread themselves about him, let fly a shower of arrows, and charged him with their swords and spears. Some pursued the fugitives, and others attacked those that stood their ground. The latter were the Fregellanians ; for, the Tuscans taking to flight at first charge, the others closed together in a body to defend the consuls : and they continued the fight till Crispinus, wounded with two arrows, turned his horse to make his escape, and Marcellus being run through between the shoulders with a lance, fell down dead. Then the few Fregellanians that remained, leaving the body of Marcellus, carried off his son, who was wounded, and fled with him to the camp.

In this skirmish there were not many more than 40 men killed ; 18 were taken prisoners, besides five *lictors*. Crispinus died of his wounds a few days after.¹ *This was a most unparalleled misfortune - the Romans lost both the consuls in one action.*

¹ He did not die till the latter end of the year, having named T. Manlius Tergeminus, dictator, to hold the *consulatus*

Some say he died at Tarentum ; others in Campania.

Hannibal made but little account of the rest, but when he knew that Marcellus was killed, he hastened to the place, and standing over the body a long time, surveyed its size and mien : but without speaking one insulting word, or showing the least sign of joy, which might have been expected at the fall of so dangerous and formidable an enemy. He stood, indeed, awhile astonished at the strange death of so great a man ; and at last taking his signet from his finger,¹ he caused his body to be magnificently attired and burned, and the ashes to be put in a silver urn, and then placed a crown of gold upon it, and sent it to his son. But certain Numidians meeting those that carried the urn, attempted to take it from them, and as the others stood upon their guard to defend it, the ashes were scattered in the struggle. When Hannibal was informed of it, he said to those who were about him, *You see it is impossible to do anything against the will of God.* He punished the Numidians, indeed, but took no farther care about collecting and sending the remains of Marcellus, believing that some deity had ordained that Marcellus should die in so strange a manner, and that his ashes should be denied burial. This account of the matter we have from Cornelius Nepos, and Valerius Maximus ; but Livy² and Augustus Cæsar affirm, that the urn was carried to his son, and that his remains were interred with great magnificence.

Marcellus's public donations, besides those he dedicated at Rome, were a *Gymnasium*, which he built at Catana in Sicily ; and several statues and paintings, brought from Syracuse, which he set up in the temple of the *Cabiri* in Samothrace, and in that of Minerva at Lindus. In the latter of these, the following verses, as Posidonius tells us, were inscribed on the pedestal of his statue :

" The light of Rome, Marcellus here behold,
For birth, for deeds, of arms, by fame enroll'd.
Seven times his valor grace the martial plain.
And by his thundering arm were thousands slain."

The author of this inscription adds to his five consulates the dignity of proconsul, with which he was twice honoured. His posterity continued in great splendour down to Marcellus, the son of Caius Marcellus and Octavia the sister of Augustus.³ He died very young, in the office of *ædile*, soon after he had married Julia, the emperor's

¹ Hannibal imagined he should have some opportunity or other of making use of this seal to his advantage. But Julius despatched messengers to all the neighbouring cities, in the interest of Rome, acquainting them that Marcellus was killed, and Hannibal master of his ring. This precaution preserved Salapia, in Apulia. Nay, the inhabitants turned the artifice of the Carthaginian upon himself. For admitting, upon a letter sealed with that ring, 800 of Hannibal's men, most of them Roman deserters, into the town, they on a sudden pulled up the

draw-bridges, cut in pieces those who had entered, and, with a shower of darts from the rampart, drove back the rest. Liv. l. xxvii. c. 25.

² Livy tells us, that Hannibal buried the body of Marcellus on the hill where he was slain.

³ His family continued after his death 135 years ; for he was slain in the first year of Olympiad 143, in the 546th year of Rome, and B.C. 206 ; and young Marcellus died in the second year of Olympiad 183, and 72th of Rome.

daughter. To do honour to his memory, Octavia dedicated to him a library,¹ and Augustus a theatre, and both these public works bore his name.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.

THOSE who are desirous of being acquainted with the countenance and figure of Titus Quinctius Flaminius,² need but look upon the statue in brass, which is erected at Rome with a Greek inscription upon it, opposite the *Circus Maximus*, near the great statue of Apollo, which was brought from Carthage. As to his disposition, he was quick both to resent an injury, and to do a service. But his resentment was not in all respects like his affection, for he punished lightly, and soon forgot the offence; but his attachments and services were lasting and complete. For the persons whom he had obliged he ever retained a kind regard; as if, instead of receiving, they had conferred a favour; and considering them as his greatest treasure, he was always ready to protect and to promote them. Naturally covetous of honour and fame, and not choosing to let others have any share in his great and good actions, he took more pleasure in those whom he could assist, than in those who could give him assistance; looking upon the former as persons who afforded room for the exertion of virtue, and the latter as his rivals in glory.

From his youth he was trained up to the profession of arms. For Rome having then many important wars upon her hands, her youth betook themselves by times to arms, and had early opportunities to qualify themselves to command. Flaminius served like the rest, and was first a legionary tribune, under the consul Marcellus,³ in the war with Hannibal. Marcellus fell into an ambuscade and was slain, after which Flaminius was appointed governor of Tarentum, newly retaken, and of the country about it. In this commission he grew no less famous for his administration of justice than for his military skill, for which reason he was appointed

¹ According to Eusebius and Dion, it was not Octavia but Augustus that dedicated this library.

² It ought to be written *Flaminius*, not *Flaminius*. Polybius, Livy, and all the other historians write it *Flaminius*. Indeed, the Flamini were a very different family from the Flamini. The former were patricians, the latter plebeians. Caius Flaminius, who was killed in the battle at the lake of Trasymenus, was of the plebeian family. Besides, some manuscripts, for instance the Vulgus, an Anon., and one that Dacier consults, have it

Flaminius; which would be sufficient authority to correct it. But that would occasion some inconvenience, because Plutarch has called him Flaminius in other places as well as here in his life; and, indeed, several modern writers have done the same.

³ He was appointed a tribune at the age of twenty, in the fourth year of the 144th Olympiad. Consequently, he was born in the first year of the 136th Olympiad, which was the year of Rome 523. Livy tells us, that he was 33 years of age, when he proclaimed liberty to Greece.

chief director of the two colonies that were sent to the cities of Narnia and Cossa.

This inspired him with such lofty thoughts, that, overlooking the ordinary previous steps by which young men ascend, I mean the offices of tribune, prætor, and ædile, he aimed directly at the consulship. Supported by those colonists, he presented himself as a candidate. But the tribunes Fulvius and Manlius opposed him, insisting that it was a strange and unheard-of thing, for a man so young, who was not yet initiated in the first mysteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the highest office of the state. The senate referred the affair to the suffrages of the people; and the people elected him consul, though he was not yet thirty years old, with Sextus Ælius. The lots being cast for the provinces, the war with Philip and the Macedonians fell to Flaminius; and this happened very fortunately for the Roman people; as that department required a general who did not want to do every thing by force and violence, but rather by gentleness and persuasion. For Macedonia furnished Philip with a sufficient number of men for his wars, but Greece was his principal dependence for a war of any length. She it was that supplied him with money and provisions, with strongholds and places of retreat, and, in a word, with all the materials of war. So that if she could not be disengaged from Philip, the war with him could not be decided by a single battle. Besides, the Greeks as yet had but little acquaintance with the Romans: it was now first to be established by the intercourse of business: and, therefore, they would not so soon have embraced a foreign authority, instead of that they had been so long accustomed to, if the Roman general had not been a man of great good nature, who was more ready to avail himself of treaty than of the sword, who had a persuasive manner where he applied, and was affable and easy of access when applied to, and who had a constant and invariable regard to justice. But this will better appear from his actions themselves.

Titus finding that Sulpitius and Publius,¹ his predecessors in command, had not entered Macedonia till late in the season, and then did not prosecute the war with vigour, but spent their time in skirmishing to gain some particular post or pass, or to intercept some provisions, determined not to act like them. They had wasted the year of their consulate in the enjoyment of their new honours, and in the administration of domestic affairs, and towards the close of the year they repaired to their province; by which artifice they got their command continued another year, being the first year in character of consul, and the second of proconsul. But Titus, ambitious to distinguish his consulship by some important expedition, left the honours and prerogatives he had in Rome; and having requested the senate to permit his brother Lucius to command the naval forces, and selected three thousand men, as yet in full vigour

¹ Publius Sulpitius Galba was Consul two years before. Publius Villius Tappianus was Consul the year after Sulpitius, and next before Flaminius.

and spirits, and the glory of the field from those troops, who, under Scipio, had subdued Hasdrubal in Spain, and Hannibal in Africa, he crossed the sea, and got safe into I'pirus. There he found Publius encamped over against Philip, who had been a long time defending the fords of the river Apsus and the adjoining straits ; and that Publius had not been able to effect anything, by reason of the natural strength of the place.

Titus having taken the command of the army and sent Publius home, set himself to consider the nature of the country. Its natural fortifications are equal to those of Tempe, but it is not like Tempe in the beauty of the woods and groves, and the verdure of valleys and delicious meads. To the right and left there is a chain of lofty mountains, between which there is a deep and long channel. Down this runs the river Apsus, like the Peneus, both in its appearance and rapidity. It covers the foot of the hills on each side, so that there is left only a narrow craggy path, cut out close by the stream, which is not easy for an army to pass at any time, and, when guarded, is not passable at all.

There were some, therefore, who advised Flaminius to take a compass through Dassaretis along the Lycus, which was an easy passage. But he was afraid that if he removed too far from the sea into a country that was barren and little cultivated, while Philip avoided a battle he might come to want provisions, and be constrained, like the general before him, to retreat to the sea, without effecting anything. This determined him to make his way up by the mountains sword in hand, and to force a passage. But Philip's army being possessed of the heights, showered down their darts and arrows upon the Romans from every quarter. Several sharp contests ensued, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides, but none that were likely to be decisive.

In the meantime, some shepherds of those mountains came to the consul with a discovery of a winding way, neglected by the enemy, by which they promised to bring his army to the top in three days at the farthest. And to confirm the truth of what they had said, they brought Charops the son of Machatus, prince of the Epirots ; who was a friend to the Romans, and privately assisted them out of fear of Philip. As Flaminius could confide in him, he sent away a tribune with 4000 foot and 300 horse. The shepherds in bonds led the way. In the daytime they lay still in the hollows of the woods, and in the night they marched ; for the moon was then at full. Flaminius having detached this party, let his main body rest the three days, and only had some slight skirmishes with the enemy to take up their attention. But the day that he expected those who had taken the circuit to appear upon the heights, he drew out his forces early, both the heavy and light-armed, and dividing them into three parts, himself led the van ; marching his men along the narrowest path by the side of the river. The Macedonians galled him with their darts ; but he maintained the combat notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground ; and the other

two parties fought with all the spirit of emulation, and clung to the rocks with astonishing ardour.

In the meantime the sun arose, and a smoke appeared at a distance, not very strong, but like the mist of the hills. Being on the back of the enemy, they did not observe it, for it came from the troops who had reached the top. Amidst the fatigue of the engagement, the Romans were in doubt whether it was a signal or not, but they inclined to believe it the thing they wished. And when they saw it increase, so as to darken the air, and to mount higher and higher, they were well assured that it came from the fires which their friends had lighted. Hereupon they set up loud shouts, and charging the enemy with greater vigour, pushed them into the most craggy places. The shouts were re-echoed by those behind at the top of the mountain. And now the Macedonians fled with the utmost precipitation. Yet there were not above 2000 slain, the pursuit being impeded by the difficulty of the ascent. The Romans, however, pillaged the camp, seized the money and slaves, and became absolute masters of the pass.

They then traversed all Epirus, but with such order and discipline, that though they were at a great distance from their ships and the sea, and had not the usual monthly allowance of corn, or convenience of markets, yet they spared the country which at the same time rebounded in everything. For Flaminius was informed that Philip, in his passage or rather flight through Thessaly, had compelled the people to quit their habitations, and retire to the mountains, had burned the towns, and had given as plunder to his men what was too heavy or cumbersome to be carried off, and so had in a manner yielded up the country to the Romans. The Consul, therefore, made a point of it to prevail with his men to spare it as their own, to march through it as land already ceded to them.

The event soon showed the benefit of this good order. For as soon as they entered Thessaly, all its cities declared for them, and the Greeks within Thermopylæ longed for the protection of Flaminius, and gave up their hearts to him. The Achæans renounced their alliance with Philip, and by a solemn decree resolved to take part with the Romans against him. And though the Ætolians, who at that time were strongly attached to the Romans, made the Opuntians an offer to garrison and defend their city, they refused it and having sent for Flaminius, put themselves in his hands.

It is reported of Pyrrhus, when from an eminence he had first a prospect of the disposition of the Roman army, that he said, "I see nothing barbarian like in the ranks of these barbarians." Indeed, all who once saw Flaminius, spoke of him in the same terms. They had heard the Macedonians represent him as the fierce commander of a host of barbarians, who was come to ruin and destroy and to reduce all to slavery, and when afterwards they met a young man of a mild aspect, who spoke very good Greek, and was a lover of true honour, they were extremely taken with him, and excited the kind regards of their cities to him, as to a general who would lead them to liberty.

After this, Philip seeming inclined to treat, Flaminius came to an interview with him, and offered him peace and friendship with Rome, on condition that he left the Grecians free, and withdrew his garrisons from their cities. And as he refused those terms, it was obvious, even to the partisans of Philip, that the Romans were not come to fight against the Greeks, but for Greece against the Macedonians.

The rest of Greece acceding voluntarily to the confederacy, the Consul entered Boeotia, but in a peaceable manner, and the chief of the Thebans came to meet him. They were inclined to the Macedonian interest on account of Barchyllas, but they honoured and respected Flaminius, and were willing to preserve the friendship of both. Flaminius received them with great goodness, embraced them, and went on slowly with them, asking various questions, and entertaining them with discourse, on purpose to give his soldiers time to come up. Thus advancing insensibly to the gates of Thebes, he entered the city with them. They did not indeed quite relish the thing, but they were afraid to forbid him, as he came so well attended. Then as if he had been in no ways master of the town, he endeavoured by persuasion to bring it to declare for the Romans; king Attalus seconding him, and using all his rhetoric to the Thebans. But that prince, it seems, in his eagerness to serve Flaminius, exerting himself more than his age could bear, was seized, as he was speaking, with a giddiness or rheum, which made him swoon away. A few days after his fleet conveyed him into Asia, and he died there. As for the Boeotians they took part with the Romans.

As Philip sent an embassy to Rome, Flaminius also sent his agents to procure a decree of the senate prolonging his commission if the war continued, or else empowering him to make peace. For his ambition made him apprehensive, that if a successor were sent, he should be robbed of all the honour of the war. His friends managed matters so well for him, that Philip failed in his application, and the command was continued to Flaminius. Having received the decree, he was greatly elevated in his hopes, and marched immediately into Thessaly to carry on the war against Philip. His army consisted of more than 26,000 men, of whom the Ætolians furnished 6000 foot, and 300 horse. Philip's forces were not inferior in number. They marched against each other, and arrived near Scotusa, where they proposed to decide the affair with the sword. The vicinity of two such armies had not the usual effect, to strike the officers with a mutual awe, on the contrary, it increased their courage and ardour, the Romans being ambitious to conquer the Macedonians, whose valour and power Alexander had rendered so famous, and the Macedonians hoping, if they could beat the Romans, whom they looked upon as a more respectable enemy than the Persians, to raise the glory of Philip above that of Alexander. Flaminius, therefore, exhorted his men to behave with the greatest courage and gallantry, as they had to contend with brave adversaries in so glorious a theatre as Greece. On the other side, Philip, in order to

address his army, ascended an eminence without his camp, which happened to be a burying-place, either not knowing it to be so, or in the hurry not attending to it. There he began an oration, such as is usual before a battle; but the omen of a sepulchre spreading a dismal melancholy among the troops, he stopped, and put off the action till another day.

Next morning at daybreak, after a rainy night, the clouds turning into a mist, darkened the plain; and as the day came on, a foggy thick air descending from the hills, covered all the ground between the two camps. Those, therefore, that were sent out on both sides, to seize posts or to make discoveries, soon meeting unawares, engaged at the *Cynoscephalæ*, which are sharp tops of hills standing opposite each other, and so called from a resemblance to the heads of dogs. The success of these skirmishes was various, by reason of the unevenness of the ground, the same parties sometimes flying and sometimes pursuing; and reinforcements were sent on both sides, as they found their men hard pressed and giving way; till at length, the day clearing up, the action became general. Philip, who was in the right wing, advanced from the rising ground with his whole phalanx against the Romans, who could not, even the bravest of them, stand the shock of the united shields, and the projected spears.¹ But the Macedonian left wing being separated and intersected by the hills,² Flaminius observing that, and having no hopes on that side where his troops gave way, hastened to the other, and there charged the enemy, where on account of the inequality and roughness of the country, they could not keep in the close form of a phalanx, nor line their ranks to any great depth, but were forced to fight man to man, in heavy and unwieldy armour. For the Macedonian phalanx is like an animal of enormous strength, while it keeps in one body, and preserves its union of locked shields; but when that is broken, each particular soldier loses of its force, as well because of the form of his armour, as because the strength of each consists rather in his being a part of the whole, than in his single person. When these were routed, some gave chase to the fugitives; others took those Macedonians in flank who were still fighting, the slaughter was great, and the wing, lately victorious, soon broke in such a manner, that they threw down their arms and fled. There were no less than 8000 slain, and about 5000 were taken prisoners. That Philip himself escaped, was chiefly owing to the Ætolians, who took to plundering the camp, while the Romans were busied in the pursuit, so that at their return there was nothing left for them.

This from the first occasioned quarrels and mutual reproaches. But afterwards Flaminius was hurt much more sensibly, when the

¹ The pike of the fifth man in the file projected beyond the front. There was, therefore, an amazing strength in the phalanx, while it stood arm. But it had its inconveniences. It could not act at

all except in a level and clear field. Polyb. lib. xvii. sub fin.

² Plutarch makes no mention of the elephants, which, according to Livy and Polybius, were very serviceable to Flaminius.

Ætolians ascribed the victory to themselves,¹ and endeavoured to prepossess the Greeks that the fact was really so. This report got such ground, that the poets and others, in the verses that were composed and sung on this occasion, put them before the Romans. The verses most in vogue were the following :—

Stranger ! unwept, unhonour'd with a grave,
See thrice ten thousand bodies of the brave !
The fierce Ætolians, and the Latian power
Led by Flaminius, ruled the vengeful power :
Emathia's scourge, beneath whose stroke they bled,
And swifter than the roe the mighty Philip fled.

Alcæus wrote this epigram in ridicule of Philip, and purposely misrepresented the number of the slain. The epigram was indeed in everybody's mouth, but Flaminius was much more hurt by it than Philip : for the latter parodied Alcæus, as follows :—

Stranger ! unwept, unhonour'd e'en with bark,
See this sad tree, the gibbet of Alcæus !

Flaminius, who was ambitious of the praise of Greece, was not a little provoked at this, and therefore managed everything afterwards by himself, paying very little regard to the Ætolians. They in their turn indulged their resentment : and, when Flaminius had admitted proposals for an accommodation, and received an embassy for that purpose from Philip, the Ætolians exclaimed in all the cities of Greece that he sold the peace to the Macedonian, at a time when he might have put a final period to the war, and have destroyed that empire which first enslaved the Grecians. These speeches, though groundless, greatly perplexed the allies ; but Philip coming in person to treat, and submitting himself and his kingdom to the discretion of Flaminius and the Romans, removed all suspicion.

Thus Flaminius put an end to the war. He restored Philip his kingdom, but obliged him to quit all claim to Greece ; he fined him 1000 talents ; took away all his ships excepting ten ; and sent Demetrius, one of his sons, hostage to Rome. In this pacification, he made a happy use of the present, and wisely provided for the time to come. For Hannibal the Carthaginian, an inveterate enemy to the Romans, and now an exile, being at the court of Antiochus,² exhorted him to meet fortune, who opened her arms to him ; and Antiochus himself seeing his power very considerable, and that his exploits had already gained him the title of the Great, began now to think of universal monarchy, and particularly of setting himself against the Romans. Had not Flaminius, therefore, in his great wisdom foreseen this, and made peace³ Antiochus might have

¹ Polybius informs us, that the Macedonians in the first encounter had the advantage, and beat the Romans from the tops of the mountains they had gained. And he affirms, that in all probability the Romans would have been put to flight, had they not been supported by the Ætolian cavalry.

² This is a mistake. Hannibal did not come to the court of Antiochus till the year after Flaminius had proclaimed

liberty to Greece at the Isthmian games : Cato and Valerius Flaccus, who were then consuls having sent an embassy to Carthage to complain of him.

³ Polybius tells us, Flaminius was induced to conclude a peace upon the intelligence he had received, that Antiochus was marching towards Greece, with a powerful army ; and he was afraid Philip might lay hold on that advantage to continue the war.

joined Philip in the war with Greece, and those two kings, then the most powerful in the world, have made a common cause of it ; which would have called Rome again to as great conflicts and dangers as she had experienced in the war with Hannibal. But Flaminius, by thus putting an intermediate space of peace between the two wars, and finishing the one before the other began, cut off at once the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus.

The ten commissioners now sent by the senate to assist Flaminius advised him to set the rest of Greece free, but to keep garrisons in the cities of Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias, to secure them, in case of a war with Antiochus. But the Ætolians, always severe in their accusations, and now more so than ever, endeavoured to excite a spirit of insurrection in the cities, calling upon Flaminius to knock off the shackles of Greece ; for so Philip used to term those cities. They asked the Greeks, "if they did not find their chain very comfortable, now it was more polished, though heavier than before ; and if they did not consider Flaminius as the greatest of benefactors, for unfettering their feet, and binding them by the neck." Flaminius, afflicted at these clamours, begged of the council of deputies and at last prevailed with them, to deliver those cities from the garrisons, in order that his favour to the Grecians might be perfect and entire.

They were then celebrating the Isthmian games, and an innumerable company was seated to see the exercises. For Greece was now enjoying full peace after a length of wars ; and, big with the expectations of liberty, had given in to these festivities on that occasion. Silence being commanded by sound of trumpet, a herald went forth and made proclamation, "That the Roman senate, and Titus Quinctius Flaminius, the general and proconsul, having vanquished king Philip and the Macedonians, took off all impositions, and withdrew all garrisons from Greece, and restored liberty, and their own laws and privileges, to the Corinthians, Locrians, Phocians, Eubœans, Achæans, Phthistæ, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians."

At first the proclamation was not generally or distinctly heard, but a confused murmur ran through the theatre ; some wondering, some questioning, and others calling upon the herald to repeat what he had said. Silence being again commanded, the herald raised his voice, so as to be heard distinctly by the whole assembly. The shout which they gave, in the transport of joy, was so prodigious, that it was heard as far as the sea. The people left their seats ; there was no further regard paid to the diversions ; all hastened to embrace and address the preserver and protector of Greece. The hyperbolical accounts that have often been given of the effect of loud shouts, were verified on that occasion. For the crows, which then happened to be flying over their heads, fell into the theatre. The breaking of the air seems to have been the cause. For the sound of many united voices being violently strong, the parts of the air are separated by it, and a void is left, which affords the birds no support. Or perhaps the force of the sound strikes the

birds like an arrow, and kills them in an instant. Or possibly a circular motion is caused in the air, as a whirlpool is produced in the sea by the agitations of a storm.

If Flaminius, as soon as he saw the assembly risen, and the crowd rushing towards him, had not avoided them, and got under covert, he must have been surrounded, and, in all probability, suffocated by such a multitude. When they had almost spent themselves in acclamations about his pavilion, and night was now come, they retired; and whatever friends or fellow-citizens they happened to see, they embraced and caressed again, and then went and concluded the evening together in feasting and merriment. There, no doubt, redoubling their joy, they began to recollect and talk of the state of Greece: they observed, "That notwithstanding the many great wars she had been engaged in for liberty, she had never gained a more secure or agreeable enjoyment of it, than now when others had fought for her; that glorious and important prize now hardly costing them a drop of blood, or a tear. That, of human excellencies, valour and prudence were but rarely met with, but that justice was still more uncommon. That such generals as Agesilaus, Lysander, Nicias, and Alcibiades, knew how to manage a war, and to gain victories both by sea and land; but they knew not how to apply their success to generous and noble purposes. So that if one excepted the battles of Marathon, of Salamis, Platæa, and Thermopylæ, and the actions of Cimon upon the Eurymedon, and near Cyprus, Greece had fought to no other purpose than to bring the yoke upon herself, all the trophies she had erected were monuments of her dishonour, and at last her affairs were ruined by the unjust ambition of her chiefs. But these strangers, who had scarce a spark of anything Grecian left,¹ who scarce retained a faint tradition of their ancient descent from us, from whom the least inclination, or even word in our behalf, could not have been expected; these strangers have run the greatest risks, and submitted to the greatest labours, to deliver Greece from her cruel and tyrannic masters, and to crown her with liberty again."

These were the reflections the Grecians made, and the actions of Flaminius justified them, being quite agreeable to his proclamation. For he immediately despatched Lentulus into Asia, to set the Bargyllians free, and Titillius² into Thrace, to draw Philip's garrisons out of the towns and adjacent islands. Publius Villus set sail in order to treat with Antiochus about the freedom of the Grecians under him. And Flaminius himself went to Chalcis, and sailed from thence to Magnesia, where he removed the garrisons, and put the government again in the hands of the people.

At Argos, being appointed director of the Nemean games, he settled the whole order of them in the most agreeable manner, and on that occasion caused liberty to be proclaimed again by the crier.

¹ According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Rome was stocked with inhabitants at first, chiefly from those Grecian

colonies which had settled in the south of Italy before the time of Romulus.

² Polybius and Livy call him Lucius Stentinus.

And as he passed through the other cities, he strongly recommended to them an adherence to law, a strict course of justice, and domestic peace and unanimity. He healed their divisions ; he restored their exiles. In short, he took not more pleasure in the conquest of the Macedonians, than in reconciling the Greeks to each other ; and their liberty now appeared the least of the benefits he had conferred upon them.

It is said that when Lycurgus, the orator, had delivered Xenocrates the philosopher out of the hands of the tax-gatherers who were hurrying him to prison for the tax paid by strangers, and had prosecuted them for their insolence ; Xenocrates, afterwards meeting the children of Lycurgus, said to them, "Children, I have made a noble return to your father for the service he did me ; for all the world praise him for it." But the returns which attended Flaminius and the Romans, for their beneficence to the Greeks, terminated not in praises only, but justly procured them the confidence of all mankind, and added greatly to their power. For now a variety of people not only accepted the governors set over them by Rome, but even sent for them and begged to be under their government. And not only cities and commonwealths, but kings, when injured by other kings, had recourse to their protection. So that the divine assistance too perhaps co-operating, in a short time the whole world became subject to them. Flaminius also valued himself most upon the liberty he had bestowed on Greece. For having dedicated some silver bucklers, together with his own shield, at Delphi, he put upon them the following inscription :—

Ye Spartan twins, who tamed the foaming steed,
Ye friends, ye patrons of each glorious deed,
Behold Flaminius of *Æneas* line,
Presents this offering at your awful shrine.
Ye sons of love, your generous paths he trod,
And snatch'd from Greece each little tyrant's rod.

He offered also to Apollo a golden crown, with these verses inscribed on it :—

See grateful Titus homage pay to thee, the glorious god of day ;
See him with gold thy locks adorn, thy locks which shed th' ambrosial morn.
O grant him fame and every gift divine, who led the warriors of *Æneas* line.

The Grecians have had the noble gift of liberty twice conferred upon them in the city of Corinth ; by Flaminius then, and by Nero in our times. It was granted both times during the celebration of the Isthmian games. Flaminius had it proclaimed by a herald ; but Nero himself declared the Grecians free and at liberty to be governed by their own laws, in an oration which he made from the rostrum in the public assembly. This happened 263 years after.

Flaminius next undertook a very just and honourable war against Nabis, the wicked and abandoned tyrant of Lacedæmon ; but in this case he disappointed the hopes of Greece. For, though he might have taken him prisoner, he would not ; but struck up a league with him and left Sparta unworthily in bondage ! whether it was that he feared, if the war was drawn out to any length, a successor would be sent him from Rome, who would rob him of the glory of it ; or whether in his passion for fame he was jealous of the

reputation of Philopœmen : a man who on all occasions had distinguished himself among the Greeks, and in that war particularly had given wonderful proofs both of courage and conduct ; insomuch that the Achæans gloried in him as much as in Flaminius, and paid him the same respect in their theatres. This greatly hurt Flaminius ; he could not bear that an Arcadian, who had only commanded in some inconsiderable wars upon the confines of his own country, should be held in equal admiration with a Roman consul, who had fought for all Greece. Flaminius, however, did not want apologies for his conduct ; for he said, " He put an end to the war, because he saw he could not destroy the tyrant without involving all the Spartans in the meantime in great calamities." ¹

The Achæans decreed Flaminius many honours, but none seemed equal to his services, unless it were one present, which pleased him above all the rest. It was this : The Romans who had the misfortune to be taken prisoners in the war with Hannibal, were sold for slaves, and dispersed in various places. Twelve hundred of them were now in Greece. That sad reverse of fortune made them always unhappy, but now (as might be expected) they were still more so, when they met their sons, their brothers, or their acquaintance, and saw them free while they were slaves, and conquerors while they were captives. Flaminius did not pretend to take them from their masters, though his heart sympathised with their distress. But the Achæans redeemed them at the rate of five minæ a man, and having collected them together, made Flaminius a present of them, just as he was going on board ; so that he set sail with great satisfaction, having found a glorious recompense for his glorious services, a return suitable to a man of such humane sentiments and such a lover of his country. This indeed made the most illustrious part of his triumph. For these poor men got their heads shaved, and wore the cap of liberty, as the custom of slaves is upon their manumission, and in this habit they followed the chariot of Flaminius. But to add to the splendour of the show, there were the Grecian helmets, the Macedonian targets and spears, and the other spoils carried in great pomp before him. And the quantity of money was not small : for, as Itanus relates it, there were carried in this triumph 3713 pounds of unwrought gold, 43,270 of silver, 14,514 pieces of coined gold called Philippics ; besides which, Philip owed 1000 talents. But the Romans were afterwards prevailed upon, chiefly by the mediation of Flaminius, to remit this debt ; Philip was declared their ally, and his son, who had been with them as a hostage, sent home.

¹ Livy touches upon this reason ; but at the same time he mentions others more to the honour of this great man. Winter was now coming on, and the state of spirits might have lasted a considerable time. The enemy's country was so exhausted, that it could not supply him with provisions ; and it was difficult to get convoys from any other quarter. Besides, Vullius was returned from the

court of Antiochus, and brought advice that the pæres with that prince was not to be depended upon. In fact he had already entered Europe with a fleet and army more numerous than before. And what forces had they to oppose him, in case of a rupture, if Flaminius continued to employ him in the siege of Sparta ? Liv. xxxiv 34, 35.

After this, Antiochus passed over into Greece with a great fleet and a powerful army, and solicited the states to join him. The Ætolians, who had been a long time ill affected to the Romans, took his part, and suggested this pretence for the war, that he came to bring the Grecians liberty. The Grecians had no want of it, for they were free already ; but, as he had no better cause to assign, they instructed him to cover his attempt with that splendid pretext.

The Romans, fearing, on this account, a revolt in Greece, as well as the strength of Antiochus, sent the Consul Manius Acilius to command in the war, but appointed Flaminius his lieutenant,¹ for the sake of his influence in Greece. His appearance there immediately confirmed such as were yet friends, in their fidelity, and prevented those who were wavering from an entire defection. This was effected by the respect they bore him ; for it operated like a potent remedy at the beginning of a disease. There were few, indeed, so entirely gained and corrupted by the Ætolians, that his interest did not prevail with them ; yet even these, though he was much exasperated against them at present, he saved after the battle. For Antiochus, being defeated at Thermopylæ, and forced to fly, immediately embarked for Asia. Upon this, the Consul Manius went against some of the Ætolians, and besieged their towns, abandoning others to Philip. Thus great ravages were committed by the Macedonians among the Dolopians and Magnesians on one hand, and among the Athamanians and Aperantians on the other ; and Manius himself, having sacked the city of Heraclea, besieged Naupactus, then in the hands of the Ætolians. But Flaminius, being touched with compassion for Greece, went from Peloponnesus to the Consul by water. He began with remonstrating, that the Consul, though he had won the victory himself, suffered Philip to reap the fruits of it ; and that while, to gratify his resentment, he spent his time about one town, the Macedonians were subduing whole provinces and kingdoms. The besieged happened to see Flaminius, called to him from the walls, stretched out their hands and begged his interposition. He gave them no answer, but turned round and wept, and then immediately withdrew. Afterwards, however, he discoursed with Manius so effectually, that he appeased his anger, and procured the Ætolians a truce, and time to send deputies to Rome, to petition for favourable terms.

But he had much greater difficulties to combat, when he applied to Manius in behalf of the Chalcidians. The Consul was highly incensed at them, on account of the marriage which Antiochus celebrated among them, even after the war was begun : a marriage every way unsuitable as well as unseasonable ; for he was far advanced in years, and the bride very young. The person he thus fell in love with was daughter to Cleoptolemus, and a virgin of incomparable beauty. This match brought the Chalcidians entirely into the king's interest, and they suffered him to make use of their

¹ According to Livy, ¹ was not Titus, but Lucius Quinctius who was appointed Lieutenant to Ciliarius

city as a place of arms. After the battle he fled with great precipitation to Chalcis, and taking with him his young wife, his treasurer, and his friends, sailed from thence to Asia. And now Manius in his indignation marched directly against Chalcis, Flaminius followed, and endeavoured to appease his resentment. At last he succeeded, by his assiduities with him and the most respectable Romans who were likely to have an influence upon him. The Chalcidians, thus saved from destruction, consecrated the most beautiful and the noblest of their public edifices to Titus Flaminius; and such inscriptions as these are to be seen upon them to this day: "The people dedicated this Gymnasium to Titus and Hercules: the people consecrate the Delphinium to Titus and Apollo." Nay, what is more, even in our days a priest of Titus is formally elected and declared; and on occasions of sacrifice to him when the libations are over, they sing a hymn, the greatest part of which, from the length of it, I omit, and only give the conclusion:

While Rome's protecting power we prove, her faith adore, her virtues love,
Still, as our strains to heaven aspire, let Rome and Titus wake the lyre:
To these our grateful altar-blaze, and our long Pansies pour immortal praise.

The rest of the Grecians conferred upon him all due honours; and what realized those honours, and added to their lustre, was the extraordinary affection of the people, which he had gained by his lenity and moderation. For it he happened to be at variance with any one upon account of business, or about a point of honour, as for instance, with Philopœmen, and with Diophanes, general of the Achæans, he never gave in to malignity, or carried his resentment into action, but let it expire in words, in such expostulations as the freedom of public debates may seem to justify. Indeed, no man ever found him vindictive, but he often discovered a hastiness and passionate turn. Setting this aside, he was the most agreeable man in the world, and a pleasantry mixed with strong sense distinguished his conversation. Thus, to divert the Achæans from their purpose of conquering the island of Zacynthus, he told them, "It was as dangerous for them to put their heads out of Peloponnesus, as it was for the tortoise to trust his out of his shell." In the first conference which Philip and he had about peace, Philip taking occasion to say, "Titus, you come with a numerous retinue, whereas I come quite alone," Flaminius answered, "No wonder if you come alone, for you have killed all your friends and relations." Dinocrates the Messenian being in company at Rome, drank until he was intoxicated, and then put on a woman's habit, and danced in that disguise. Next day he applied to Flaminius, and begged his assistance in a design which he had conceived, to withdraw Mesene from the Achæan league. Flaminius answered, "I will consider of it; but I am surprised that you, who conceived such great designs, can sing and dance at a carousal." And when the ambassadors of Antiochus represented to the Achæans, how numerous the king's forces were, and, to make them appear still more so, reckoned them up by all their different names: "I supped once," said Flaminius, "with a friend; and upon my complaining

of the great number of dishes, and expressing my wonder how he could furnish his table with such a vast variety; be not uneasy about that, said my friend, for it is all hog's flesh, and the difference is only in the dressing and the sauce. In like manner, I say to you, my Achæan friend, be not astonished at the number of Antiochus's forces, at these pikemen, these halberdiers and cuirassiers; for they are all Syrians, only distinguished by the trifling arms they bear."

After these great actions in Greece, and the conclusion of the war with Antiochus, Flaminius was created Censor. This is the chief dignity in the state, and the crown, as it were of all its honours. He had for colleague the son of Marcellus, who had been five times Consul. They expelled four senators who were men of no great note: and they admitted as citizens all who offered, provided that their parents were free. But they were forced to this by Terentius Culeo, a tribune of the people, who, in opposition to the nobility, procured such orders from the commons. Two of the greatest and most powerful men of those times, Scipio Africanus and Marcus Cato, were then at variance with each other. Flaminius appointed the former of these president of the senate, as the first and best man in the commonwealth; and with the latter he entirely broke, on the following unhappy occasion. Titus had a brother named Lucius Quinctius Flaminius, unlike him in all respects, but quite abandoned in his pleasures, and regardless of decorum. This Lucius had a favourite boy whom he carried with him, even when he commanded armies and governed provinces. One day, as they were drinking, the boy, making his court to Lucius, said, "I love you so tenderly, that preferring your satisfaction to my own, I left a show of gladiators, to come to you, though I have never seen a man killed." Lucius, delighted with the flattery, made answer, "If that be all, you need not be in the least uneasy, for I shall soon satisfy your longing." He immediately ordered a convict to be brought from the prison, and having sent for one of his lictors, commanded him to strike off the man's head, in the room where they were carousing. Valerius Antias writes, that this was done to gratify a mistress. And Livy relates, from Cato's writings, that a Gaulish deserter being at the door with his wife and children, Lucius took him into the banqueting-room, and killed him with his own hand; but it is probable, that Cato said this to aggravate the charge. For that the person killed was not a deserter, but a prisoner, and a condemned one too, appears from many writers, and particularly from Cicero, in his treatise on *Old Age*, where he introduces Cato himself giving that account of the matter.

Upon this account, Cato, when he was Censor, and set himself to remove all obnoxious persons from the senate, expelled Lucius though he was of Consular dignity. His brother thought this proceeding reflected dishonour upon himself; and they both went into the assembly in the form of suppliants and besought the people with tears, that Cato might be obliged to assign his reason for fixing such a mark of disgrace upon so illustrious a family. The

request appeared reasonable. Cato without the least hesitation came out, and standing up with his colleague, interrogated Titus, whether he knew anything of that feast. Titus answering in the negative, Cato related the affair, and called upon Lucius to declare upon oath, whether it was not true. As Lucius made no reply, the people determined the note of infamy to be just, and conducted Cato home with great honour, from the tribunal.

Titus, greatly concerned at his brother's misfortune, leagued with the inveterate enemies of Cato, and gaining a majority in the senate, quashed and annulled all the contracts, leases, and bargains which Cato had made, relating to the public revenues; and stirred up many and violent prosecutions against him. But I know not whether he acted well, or agreeably to good policy, in thus becoming a mortal enemy to a man who had only done what became a lawful magistrate and a good citizen, for the sake of one who was a relation indeed, but an unworthy one, and who had met with the punishment he deserved. Some time after, however, the people being assembled in the theatres to see the shows, and the senate seated, according to custom, in the most honourable place, Lucius was observed to go in a humble and dejected manner, and sit down upon one of the lowest benches. The people could not bear to see this, but called out to him to go up higher, and ceased not until he went to the Consular bench, who made room for him. The native ambition of Flaminius was applauded, while it found sufficient matter to employ itself upon in the wars we have given account of. And his serving in the army as a Tribune, after he had been Consul, was regarded with a favourable eye, though no one required it of him. But when he was arrived at an age that excused him from all employments, he was blamed for indulging a violent passion for fame, and a youthful impetuosity in that inactive season of life. To some excess of this kind seems to have been owing his behaviour with respect to Hannibal,¹ at which the world was much offended. For Hannibal having fled his country, took refuge first at the court of Antiochus. But Antiochus, after he had lost the battle of Phrygia, gladly accepting conditions of peace, Hannibal was again forced to fly; and after wandering through many countries, at length settled in Bithynia, and put himself under the protection of Prusias. The Romans knew this perfectly well, but they took no notice of it, considering him now as a man enfeebled by age, and overthrown by fortune. But Flaminius, being sent by the senate upon an embassy to Prusias about other matters, and seeing Hannibal at his court, could not endure that he should be suffered to live. And though

¹ Flaminius was no more than 44 years of age, when he went ambassador to Prusias. It was not therefore an unreasonable desire of a public character, or extravagant passion for fame, which was blamed in him on this occasion, but an unworthy persecution of a great, though unfortunate man. We are inclined, how-

ever to think, that he had secret instructions from the senate for what he did; for it is not probable that a man of his mild and humane disposition would choose to hunt down an old unhappy warrior: and Plutarch confirms this opinion afterwards.

Prusias used much intercession and entreaty in behalf of a man who came to him as a suppliant, and lived with him under the sanction of hospitality, he could not prevail.

It seems there was an ancient oracle, which thus prophesied concerning the end of Hannibal,

"Libyan earth shall hide the bones of Hannibal."

He therefore thought of nothing but ending his days at Carthage, and being buried in Libya. But in Bithynia there is a sandy place near the sea, which has a small village in it called Libyssa. In this neighbourhood Hannibal lived. But having always been apprised of the timidity of Prusias, and distrusting him on that account, and dreading withal the attempts of the Romans, he had some time before ordered several subterraneous passages to be dug under his house; which were continued a great way under ground, and terminated in several different places, but were all indiscernible without. As soon as he was informed of the orders which Flaminius had given, he attempted to make his escape by those passages; but finding the king's guards at the outlets, he resolved to kill himself. Some say, he wound his cloak about his neck, and ordered his servant to put his knees upon his back, and pull with all his force, and not to leave twisting till he had quite strangled him. Others tell us, that, like Themistocles and Midas, he drank bull's blood. But Livy writes, that having poison in readiness, he mixed it for a draught; and taking the cup in his hand, "Let us deliver the Romans," said he, "from their cares and anxieties, since they think it too tedious and dangerous to wait for the death of a poor hated old man. Yet shall not Titus gain a conquest worth envying, or suitable to the generous proceedings of his ancestors, who sent to caution Pyrrhus, though a victorious enemy, against the poison that was prepared for him."

Thus Hannibal is said to have died. When the news was brought to the senate, many in that august body were highly displeased. Flaminius appeared too officious and cruel in his precautions, to procure the death of Hannibal, now tamed by his misfortunes, like a bird that through age had lost its tail and feathers, and suffered to live so. And as he had no orders to put him to death, it was plain that he did it out of a passion for fame, and to be mentioned in aftertimes as the destroyer of Hannibal.¹ On this occasion they recollected and admired more than ever, the humane and generous behaviour of Scipio Africanus; for when he had vanquished Hannibal in Africa, at a time when he was extremely formidable, and deemed invincible, he neither insisted on his banishment, nor demanded him of his fellow citizens; but, as he had embraced him at the conference which he had with him before the battle, so, after

¹ If this was really the motive of Flaminius, and nothing of a political tendency entered into this dastardly destruction of that great general, it wou'd hardly

be possible for all the virtues, all the triumphs of the Romans, to redeem him from the infamy of so base an action.

it, when he settled the conditions of peace, he offered not the least affront or insult to his misfortunes

It is reported that they met again at Ephesus, and Hannibal, as they walked together, taking the upper hand, Africanus suffered it, and walked on without the least concern. Afterwards they fell into conversation about great generals, and Hannibal asserted that Alexander was the greatest general the world had ever seen, that Pyrrhus was the second, and himself the third. Scipio smiled at this, and said, "But what rank would you have placed yourself in, if I had not conquered you?" "O Scipio!" said he, "then I would not have placed myself the third, but the first."

The generality admiring this moderation of Scipio, found the greater fault with Flaminius for taking the spoils of an enemy, whom another man had slain. There were some, indeed, who applauded the thing, and observed, "That while Hannibal lived, they must have looked upon him as a fire, which wanted only to be blown into a flame. That when he was in the vigour of his age, it was not his bodily strength or his right hand which was so dreadful to the Romans, but his capacity and experience, together with his innate rancour and hatred to their name. And that these are not altered by age; for the native disposition still overrules the manners, whereas fortune, far from remaining the same, changes continually, and by new hopes invites those to new enterprises who were ever at war with us in their hearts." And the subsequent events contributed still more to the justification of Flaminius. For, in the first place, Aristonicus, the son of a harper's daughter, on the strength of his being reputed the natural son of Eumenes, filled all Asia with tumult and rebellion. and in the next place, Mithridates, after such strokes as he had met with from Sylla and Fimbria, and so terrible a destruction among his troops and officers, rose up stronger than ever against Lucullus, both by sea and land. Indeed, Hannibal was never brought so low as Caius Marius had been. For Hannibal enjoyed the friendship of a king, from whom he received liberal supplies, and with whose officers, both in the navy and army, he had important connections, whereas Marius was a wanderer in Africa, and forced to beg his bread. But the Romans, who had laughed at his fall, soon after bled, in their own streets, under his rods and axes, and prostrated themselves before him. So true it is, that there is nothing either great or little at this moment, which is sure to hold so in the days to come, and that the changes we have to experience only determine with our lives. For this reason, some tell us, that Flaminius did not do this of himself, but that he was joined in commission with Lucius Scipio, and that the sole purpose of their embassy was to procure the death of Hannibal. We have no account after this, of any political or military act of Flaminius, and only know that he died in his bed.

CATO THE CENSOR.

It is said that Marcus Cato was born at Tusculum, of which place his family originally was, and that before he was concerned in civil or military affairs, he lived upon an estate which his father left him near the country of the Sabines. Though his ancestors were reckoned to have been persons of no note, yet Cato himself boasts of his father as a brave man and an excellent soldier, and assures us that his grandfather Cato received several military rewards, and that having had five horses killed under him, he had the value of them paid him out of the treasury, as an acknowledgment of his gallant behaviour. As the Romans always gave the appellation of *new men*¹ to those who, having no honours transmitted to them from their ancestors, began to distinguish themselves, they mentioned Cato by the same style: but he used to say, he was indeed *new* with respect to offices and dignities, but with regard to services and virtues of his ancestors, he was very ancient.

His third name, at first, was not Cato, but Friscus. It was afterwards changed to that of Cato, on account of his great wisdom; for the Romans call wise men *Catos*. He had red hair and grey eyes, as this epigram ill-naturedly enough declares:

With eyes so gray and hair so red, with tusks so sharp and keen,
Thou'lt fright the shades when thou art dead, and hell won't let thee in.

Inured to labour and temperance, and brought up, as it were, in camps, he had an excellent constitution with respect to strength as well as health. And he considered eloquence as a valuable contingent, an instrument of great things, not only useful but necessary for every man who does not choose to live obscure and inactive; for which reason he exercised and improved that talent in the neighbouring boroughs and villages, by undertaking the causes of such as applied to him; so that he was soon allowed to be an able pleader, and afterwards a good orator.

From this time, all that conversed with him discovered in him such a gravity of behaviour, such a dignity and depth of sentiment, as qualified him for the greatest affairs in the most respectable government in the world. For he was not only so disinterested as to plead without fee or reward, but it appeared that the honour to be gained in that department was not his principal view. His ambition was military glory; and *when yet but a youth, he had fought in so many battles that his breast was full of scars*. He

¹ The *qui imaginibus* was annexed to the great offices of state, and none had their statues or pictures but such as had borne those offices. Therefore he who had the pictures of his ancestors, was called *noble*, he who had only his own, was called a *new man*; and he who had neither the one nor the other, was called *ignoble*. So

says Asconius. But it does not appear that a man who had borne a great office, the consulate for instance, was *ignoble* because he had not his statue or picture; for he might not choose it. Cato himself did not choose it; his reason we suppose was because he had none of his ancestors; though he was pleased to assign another.

himself tells us, he made his first campaign at seventeen years of age, when Hannibal, in the height of his prosperity, was laying Italy waste with fire and sword. In battle he stood firm, had a sure and executing hand, a fierce countenance, and spoke to his enemy in a threatening and dreadful accent; for he rightly judged, and endeavoured to convince others, that such a kind of behaviour often strikes an adversary with greater terror than the sword itself. He always marched on foot and carried his own arms, followed only by one servant who carried his provisions. And, it is said, he never was angry or found fault with that servant, whatever he set before him; but when he was at leisure from military duty, would ease and assist him in dressing it. All the time he was in the army he drank nothing but water, except that when almost burned up with thirst he would ask for a little vinegar, or when he found his strength and spirits exhausted he would take a little wine.

Near his country-seat was a cottage, which formerly belonged to Manius Curius¹ who was thrice honoured with a triumph. Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the smallness of the farm and the meanness of the dwelling used to think of the *peculiar virtues of Dentatus, who, though he was the greatest man in Rome, had subdued the most warlike nations, and driven Pyrrhus out of Italy, cultivated this little spot of ground with his own hands, and after three triumphs lived in this cottage. Here the ambassadors of the Samnites found him in the chimney-corner dressing turnips, and offered him a large present of gold; but he absolutely refused it, and gave them this answer: A man who can be satisfied with such a supper has no need of gold: and I think it more glorious to conquer the owners of it, than to have it myself.* Full of these thoughts Cato returned home, and taking a view of his own estate, his servants and manner of living, added to his own labour, and retrenched his unnecessary expenses.

When Fabius Maximus took the city of Tarentum, Cato, who was then very young,² served under him. Happening at that time to lodge with a Pythagorean philosopher named Nearchus, he desired to hear some of his doctrine; and learning from him the same maxims which Plato advances, *That pleasure is the greatest incentive to evil: that the greatest burden and calamity to the soul is the body, from which she cannot disengage herself, but by such a wise use of reason as shall wean and separate her from all corporeal passions:* he became still more attached to frugality and temperance. Yet it is said that he learned Greek very late, and was considerably advanced in years when he began to read the Grecian writers, among whom he improved his eloquence, some-

¹ Manius Curius Dentatus triumphed twice in his first consulship, in the 403d year of Rome, first over the Samnites, and afterwards over the Sabines. And eight years after that, in his third consulship he triumphed over Pyrrhus. After this, he led up the less triumph, called

Oscition, for his victory over the Lucanians.

² Fabius Maximus took Tarentum in his fifth consulship, in the year of Rome 544. Cato was then 23 years old; but he had made his first campaign under the same Fabius 5 years before.

what by Thucydides, but by Demosthenes very greatly. Indeed his own writings are sufficiently adorned with precepts and examples borrowed from the Greek, and among his maxims and sentences we find many that are literally translated from the same originals.

At that time there flourished at Rome a nobleman of great power and eminence, called Valerius Flaccus, whose penetration enabled him to distinguish a rising genius and virtuous disposition, and whose benevolence inclined him to encourage and conduct it in the path of glory. This nobleman had an estate contiguous to Cato's, where he often heard his servants speak of his neighbour's laborious and temperate manner of life. They told him that he used to go early in the morning to the little towns in the neighbourhood, and defend the causes of such as applied to him; that from thence he would return to his farm, where, in a coarse frock, if it was winter, and naked, if it was summer, he would labour with his domestics, and afterwards sit down with them, and eat the same kind of bread, and drink of the same wine. They related also many other instances of his condescension and moderation, and mentioned several of his short sayings that were full of wit and good sense. Valerius, charmed with his character, sent him an invitation to dinner. From that time, by frequent conversation, he found in him so much sweetness of temper and ready wit, that he considered him as an excellent plant, which wanted only cultivation, and deserved to be removed to a better soil. He therefore persuaded him to go to Rome, and apply himself to affairs of state.

There his pleadings soon procured him friends and admirers; the interest of Valerius, too, greatly assisted his rise to preferment; so that he was first made a tribune of the soldiers, and afterwards quæstor. And having gained great reputation and honour in those employments, he was joined with Valerius himself in the highest dignities, being his colleague both as consul and as censor.

Among all the ancient senators, he attached himself chiefly to Fabius Maximus, not so much on account of the great power and honour he had acquired, as for the sake of his life and manners which Cato considered as the best model to form himself upon. So that he made no scruple of differing with the great Scipio, who, though at that time but a young man, yet actuated by a spirit of emulation, was the person who most opposed the power of Fabius. For being sent quæstor with Scipio to the war in Africa, and perceiving that he indulged himself, as usual, in an unbounded expense, and lavished the public money upon the troops, he took the liberty to remonstrate; observing, "That the expense itself was not the greatest evil, but the consequence of that expense, since it corrupted the ancient simplicity of the soldiery, who, when they had more money than was necessary for their subsistence, were sure to bestow it upon luxury and riot." Scipio answered, "he had no need of a very exact and frugal treasurer, because he intended to spread all his sails in the ocean of war, and because his country expected from him an account of services performed, not of money expended." Upon this Cato left Sicily, and returned to Rome, where, together

with Fabius, he loudly complained to the senate of "Scipio's immense profusion, and of his passing his time, like a boy, in wrestling-rings and theatres, as if he had not been sent out to make war, but to exhibit games and shows." In consequence of this, tribunes were sent to examine into the affair, with orders, if the accusation proved true, to bring Scipio back to Rome. Scipio represented to them, "That success depended entirely upon the greatness of the preparations," and made them sensible, "*That though he spent his hours of leisure in a cheerful manner with his friends, his liberal way of living had not caused him to neglect any great or important business.*" With this defence the commissioners were satisfied, and he set sail for Africa.

As for Cato, he continued to gain so much influence and authority by his eloquence, that he was commonly called the Roman Demosthenes; but he was still more celebrated for his manner of living. His excellence as a speaker awakened a general emulation among the youth to distinguish themselves the same way, and to surpass each other; but few were willing to imitate him in the ancient custom of tilling the field with their own hands, in eating a dinner prepared without fire, and a spare frugal supper; few, like him, could be satisfied with a plain dress and a poor cottage, or think it more honourable not to want the superfluities of life than to possess them. For the commonwealth now no longer retained its primitive purity and integrity, by reason of the vast extent of its dominions; the many different affairs under its management, and the infinite number of people that were subject to its command, had introduced a great variety of customs and modes of living. Justly, therefore, was Cato entitled to admiration, when the other citizens were frightened at labour, and enervated by pleasure, and he alone was unconquered by either, not only while young and ambitious, but when old and grey-haired, after his consulship and triumph; like a brave wrestler, who, after he has come off conqueror, observes the common rules, and continues his exercises to the last.

He himself tells us that he never wore a garment that cost him more than 100 *drachmæ*, that even when prætor or consul he drank the same wine with his slaves; that a dinner never cost him from the market above 30 *ases*, and that he was thus frugal for the sake of his country, that he might be able to endure the harder services in war. He adds, that having got, among some goods he was heir to, a piece of Babylonian tapestry, he sold it immediately; that the walls of his country-houses were neither plastered nor white-washed; that he never gave more for a slave than 1500 *drachmæ*, as not requiring in his servants delicate shapes and fine faces, but strength and ability to labour, that they might be fit to be employed in his stables about his cattle, or such like business; and these he thought proper to sell again when they grew old,¹ that he might have no

¹ Cato says in express terms, "A master of a family should sell his old oxen, and all the horned cattle that are

of a delicate frame; all he's able that are not hardy, their wool their very pelts; he should sell his old waggons, and his old

useless persons to maintain. In a word, *he thought nothing cheap that was superfluous*; that what a man has no need of is dear even at a penny; and that it is much better to have fields where the plough goes or cattle feed, than fine gardens and walks that require much watering and sweeping.

Some imputed these things to a narrowness of spirit, while others supposed that he betook himself to this contracted manner of living, in order to correct by his example the growing luxury of the age. For my part, I cannot but charge his using his servants like so many beasts of burden, and turning them off, or selling them, when grown old, to the account of a mean and ungenerous spirit, which thinks that the sole tie between man and man is interest or necessity. But goodness moves in a larger sphere than justice: the obligations of law and equity reach only to mankind, but kindness and beneficence should be extended to creatures of every species; and these still flow from the breast of a well-natured man, as streams that issue from the living fountain. A good man will take care of his horses and dogs, not only while they are young, but when old and past service. Thus the people of Athens, when they had finished the temple called *Hecatompodon*, set at liberty the beasts of burden that had been chiefly employed in that work, suffering them to pasture at large, free from any further service. It is said, that one of these afterwards came of its own accord to work, and putting itself at the head of the labouring cattle, marched before them to the citadel.—This pleased the people, and they made a decree that it should be kept at the public charge as long as it lived. The graves of Cimon's mares, with which he thrice conquered at the Olympic games, are still to be seen near his own tomb. Many have shown particular marks of regard in burying the dogs, which they have cherished and been fond of; and among the rest, Xantippus of old, whose dog swam by the side of his galley to Salamis, when the Athenians were forced to abandon their city, was afterwards buried by his master upon a promontory, which to this day is called the *dog's grave*. We certainly ought not to treat living creatures like shoes or household goods, which, when worn out with use, we throw away; and, were it only to learn benevolence to human kind, we should be merciful to other creatures. For my own part, I would not sell even an old ox that had laboured for me; much less would I remove, for the sake of a little money, a man grown old in my service, from his usual place and diet; for to him, poor man! it would be as bad as banishment; since he could be of no more use to the buyer than he was to the seller. But Cato, as if he took a pride in these things, tells us, that, when consul, he left his war-horse in Spain, to save the public the charge of his freight. Whether such things as these are instances of greatness or littleness of soul, let the reader judge for himself.

instruments of husbandry: he should sell such of his slaves as were old and infirm, and, every thing else that is old or useless. A master of a family should love to sell,

not to buy." What a fine contrast there is between the spirit of this old stoic and that of the liberal-minded, the benevolent Iularch.

He was, however, a man of wonderful temperance. For, when general of the army, he took no more from the public, for himself and those about him, than three Attic *medimni* of wheat a month; and less than a *medimnus* and a half of barley for his horses. And when he was governor of Sardinia, though his predecessors had put the province to a very great expense for pavilions, bedding, and apparel, and still more by the number of friends and servants they had about them, and by the great and sumptuous entertainments they gave, he, on the contrary, was as remarkable for his frugality. Indeed, he put the public to no manner of charge. Instead of making use of a carriage, he walked from one town to another, attended only by one officer, who carried his robe and a vessel for libations. But if in these things he appeared plain and easy to those who were under his command, he preserved a gravity and severity in everything else. For he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so awful or so amiable.¹

This contrast was found, not only in his manners but in his style, which was elegant, facetious, and familiar, and at the same time grave, nervous, and sententious. Thus Plato tells us, "the outside of Socrates was that of a satyr and buffoon, but his soul was all virtue, and from within him came such divine and pathetic things as pierced the heart, and drew tears from the hearers." And as the same may justly be affirmed of Cato, I cannot comprehend their meaning, who compare his language to that of Lysias. I leave this, however, to be decided by those who are more capable than myself of judging of the several sorts of styles used among the Romans; and being persuaded that a man's disposition may be discovered much better by his speech than by his looks (though some are of a different opinion,) I shall set down some of Cato's remarkable sayings.

One day when the Romans clamoured violently and unseasonably for a distribution of corn, to dissuade them from it he thus began his address; *It is a difficult task, my fellow citizens, to speak to the belly, because it hath no ears.* Another time, complaining of the luxury of the Romans, he said, *It was a hard matter to save that city from ruin where a fish was sold for more than an ox.* On another occasion, he said, *The Roman people were like sheep, for as those can scarce be brought to stir singly, but all in a body readily follow their leaders, just such are ye.* *The men whose counsel you would not take as individuals, lead you with ease in a crowd.* Speaking of the power of women, he said, *All men naturally govern the women, we govern all men, and our wives govern us.* But this might be taken from the Apophthegms of Themistocles. For, his son directing in most things through his mother he said,

¹ His only amusement was to hear the instructions of the poet Ennius, under whom he learned the Greek sciences. He

banished usurers from his province, and reduced the interest upon loans almost to not ing.

The Athenians govern the Greeks, I govern the Athenians, you, wife, govern me, and your son governs you: let him then use that power with moderation, which, child as he is, sets him above all the Greeks. Another of Cato's sayings was, *That the Roman people fixed the value, not only of the several kinds of colours, but of the arts and sciences.* For, added he, *as the dyers dye that sort of purple which is most agreeable to you, so our youth only study and strive to excel in such things as you esteem and commend.* Exhorting the people to virtue, he said, *If it is by virtue and temperance that you are become great, change not for the worse; but if by intemperance and vice, change for the better; for you are already great enough by such means as these.* Of such as were perpetually soliciting for great offices, he said, *Like men who knew not their way, they wanted lictors always to conduct them.* He found fault with the people for often choosing the same persons consuls; *You either,* said he, *think the consulate of little worth, or that there are but few worthy of the consulate.* Concerning one of his enemies who led a very profligate and infamous life, he said, *His mother takes it for a curse and not a prayer when any one wishes this son may survive her.* Pointing to a man who had sold a paternal estate near the sea-side, he pretended to admire him, as one that was stronger than the sea itself; *For,* said he, *what the sea could not have swallowed without difficulty, this man has taken down with all the ease imaginable.* When king Eumenes¹ came to Rome, the senate received him with extraordinary respect, and the great men strove which should do him the most honour, but Cato visibly neglected and shunned him. Upon which somebody said, *Why do you shun Eumenes, who is so good a man, and so great a friend to the Romans? That may be,* answered Cato, *but I look upon a king as a creature that feeds upon human flesh; and of all the kings that have been so much cried up, I find not one to be compared with an Epaminondas, a Pericles, a Themistocles, a Manlius Curius, or with Hamilcar surnamed Barca.* He used to say, that his enemies hated him, because he neglected his own concerns, and rose before day to mind those of the public. *But that he had rather his good actions should go unrewarded, than his bad ones unpunished; and that he pardoned everybody's faults sooner than his own.* The Romans having sent three ambassadors to the king of Bithynia, of whom one had the gout, another his skull trepanned, and the third was reckoned little better than a fool, Cato smiled, and said, *They had sent an embassy which had neither feet, head, nor heart.* When Scipio applied to him, at the request of Polybius, in behalf of the Achæan exiles,² and the matter was much canvassed in the

¹ Eumenes went to Rome in the year of Rome 515. Cato was then 39 years old.

² The Achæans, in the first year of Olympiad 163, entered into measures for delivering up their country to the king of Persia; but, being discovered, 1000 of them were seized, and compelled to live

exiles in Italy. There they continued 17 years; after which, about 300, who were still living, were restored by a decree of the senate, which was particularly made in favour of Polybius, who was one of the number.

senate, some speaking for their being restored, and some against it, Cato rose up, and said, *As if we had nothing else to do, we sit here all day debating whether a few poor old Greeks should be buried by our grave-diggers or those of their own country.* The senate then decreed, that the exiles should return home; and Polybius, some days after, endeavoured to procure another meeting of that respectable body, to restore those exiles to their former honours in Achaia. Upon this affair he sounded Cato, who answered, smiling, *This was just as if Ulysses should have wanted to enter the Cyclops' cave again for a hat and a belt which he had left behind.* It was a saying of his, *That wise men learn more from fools, than fools from the wise; for the wise avoid the error of fools, while fools do not profit by the examples of the wise.* Another of his sayings was, *That he liked a young man that blushed, more than one that turned pale: and that he did not like a soldier who moved his hands in marching, and his feet in fighting, and who snored louder in bed than he shouted in battle.* Jestng upon a very fat man, he said, *Of what service to his country can such a body be, which is nothing but belly?* When an epicure desired to be admitted into his friendship, he said, *He could not live with a man whose palate had quicker sensations than his heart.* He used to say, *The soul of a lover lived in the body of another: And that in all his life he never repented but of three things: the first was, that he had trusted a woman with a secret, the second, that he had gone by sea, when he might have gone by land; and the third, that he had passed one day without having a will by him.*¹ To an old debauchee, he said, *Old age has deformities enough of its own: do not add to it the deformity of vice.* A tribune of the people, who had the character of a poisoner, proposing a bad law, and taking great pains to have it passed, Cato said to him, *Young man, I know not which is most dangerous, to drink what you mix, or to enact what you propose.* Being scurrilously treated by a man who led a dissolute and infamous life, he said, *It is upon very unequal terms that I contend with you: for you are accustomed to be spoken ill of, and can speak it with pleasure; but with me it is unusual to hear it, and disagreeable to speak it.* Such was the manner of his repartees and short sayings.

Being appointed consul along with his friends Valerius Flaccus, the government of that part of Spain which the Romans call *exterior*, *hither*, fell to his lot.² While he was subduing some of the nations there by arms, and winning others by kindness, a great army of barbarians fell upon him, and he was in danger of being

¹ This has been misunderstood by all the translators, who have agreed in rendering it, "that he had passed one day idly."

² As Cato's troops consisted, for the most part, of raw soldiers, he took great pains to discipline them, considering that they had to deal with the Spaniards, who, in their wars with the Romans and Carthaginians, had learned the military art,

and were naturally brave and courageous. Before he came to action he sent away his fleet, that his soldiers might place all their hopes in their valour. With the same view, when he came near the enemy, he took a compass, and posted his army behind them in the plain; so that the Spaniards were between him and his camp.

driven out in dishonour. On this occasion he sent to desire succours of his neighbours the Celtiberians, who demanded 200 talents for that service. All the officers of his army thought it intolerable, that the Romans should be obliged to purchase assistance of the barbarians : but Cato said, *It is no such great hardship ; for if we conquer, we shall pay them at the enemy's expense ; and if we are conquered, there will be nobody either to pay or make the demand.* He gained the battle, and everything afterwards succeeded to his wish. Polybius tells us, that the walls of all the Spanish towns on this side the river Bætis were razed by his command in one day,¹ notwithstanding the towns were numerous, and their inhabitants brave ; Cato himself says, he took more cities than he spent days in Spain : nor is it a vain boast ; for they were actually no fewer than 400. Though this campaign afforded the soldiers great booty, he gave each of them a pound weight of silver besides, saying, *It was better that many of the Romans should return with silver in their pockets, than a few with gold.* And for his own part, he assures us, that of all that was taken in the war, nothing came to his share but what he ate and drank. *Not that I blame, says he, those that seek their own advantage in these things ; but I had rather contend for valour with the brave, than for wealth with the rich, or in rapaciousness with the covetous.*

And he not only kept himself clear of extortion, but all that were immediately under his direction. He had five servants with him in this expedition, one of whom, named Paccus, had purchased three boys that were among the prisoners ; but when he knew that his master was informed of it, unable to bear the thoughts of coming into his presence, he hanged himself. Upon which Cato sold the boys, and put the money into the public treasury.

While he was settling the affairs of Spain, Scipio the Great, who was his enemy, and wanted to break the course of his success, and have the finishing of the war himself, managed matters so as to get himself appointed his successor. After which he made all possible haste to take the command of the army from him. But Cato hearing of his march, took five companies of foot, and 500 horse, as a convoy to attend upon Scipio, and as he went to meet him, defeated the Lacetanians, and took among them 600 Roman deserters, whom he caused to be put to death. And upon Scipio's expressing his displeasure at this, he answered ironically, *Rome would be great indeed, if men of birth would not yield the palm of virtue to the commonalty, and if plebeians, like himself, would contend for excellence with men of birth and quality.* Besides, as the senate had decreed, that nothing should be altered which Cato

¹ As the dread of his name procured him great respect in all the provinces beyond the Iberus, he wrote the same day private letters to the commanders of several fortified towns, ordering them to demolish without delay their fortifications ; and assuring them that he would

pardon none but such as readily complied with his orders. Every one of the commanders believing the orders to be sent only to himself, immediately beat down their walls and towers. Liv. l. xxxiv. c. 15.

had ordered and established, the post which Scipio had made so much interest for, rather tarnished his own glory than that of Cato; for he continued inactive during that government.

In the meantime, Cato was honoured with a triumph. But he did not act afterwards like those whose ambition is only for fame, and not for virtue, and who having reached the highest honours, borne the office of consul, and led up triumphs, withdraw from public business, and give up the rest of their days to ease and pleasure. On the contrary, like those who had just entered upon business and thirst for honour and renown, he exerted himself as if he was beginning his race anew, his services being always ready both for his friends in particular, and for the citizens in general, either at the bar or in the field. For he went with the consul Tiberius Sempronius to Thrace and the Danube,¹ as his lieutenant. And, as a legonary Tribune, he attended Manius Acilius Glabrio into Greece, in the war against Antiochus the Great; who, next to Hannibal, was the most formidable enemy the Romans ever had. For having recovered almost all the provinces of Asia which Seleucus Nicanor had possessed, and reduced many warlike nations of barbarians, he was so much elated as to think the Romans the only match for him in the field. Accordingly he crossed the sea with a powerful army colouring his design with the specious pretence of restoring liberty to the Greeks, of which, however, they stood in no need, for, being lately delivered by the favour of the Romans from the yoke of Philip and the Macedonians, they were free already, and were governed by their own laws.

At his approach, all Greece was in great commotion, and unresolved how to act; being corrupted with the splendid hopes infused by the orators whom Antiochus had gained. Acilius, therefore, sent ambassadors to the several states; Titus Flaminius appeased the disturbances, and kept most of the Greeks in the Roman interest, without using any violent means; and Cato confirmed the people of Corinth, as well as those of Patræ and Ægium in their duty. He also made a considerable stay at Athens, and it is said, there is still extant a speech of his, which he delivered to the Athenians in Greek, expressing his admiration of the virtue of their ancestors, and his satisfaction in beholding the beauty and grandeur of their city. But this account is not true, for he spoke to them by an interpreter. Not that he was ignorant of Greek but chose to adhere to the customs of his country, and laugh at those who admired nothing but what was Greek. He, therefore, ridiculed Posthumius Albanus, who had written a history in that language, and made an apology for the improprieties of expression, saying, *He ought to be pardoned, if he wrote it by command of the Amphictyons.* We are assured that the Athenians admired the strength and conciseness of his language, for *what he delivered in few words the interpreter was obliged to make use of many to explain: insomuch that he*

¹ The year after his Consulship and the second year of the 146th Olympiad.

*left them in the opinion, that the expressions of the Greeks flowed only from the lips, while those of the Roman, came from the heart*¹

Antiochus having blocked up the narrow pass of Thermopylæ with his troops, and added walls and entrenchments to the natural fortifications of the place, sat down there unconcerned, thinking the war could not touch him. And indeed the Romans despaired of forcing the pass. But Cato, recollecting the circuit the Persians had taken on a like occasion,² set out in the night with a proper detachment.

When they had advanced a considerable height, the guide, who was one of the prisoners, missed his way, and wandering about among impracticable places and precipices, threw the soldiers into inexpressible dread and despair. Cato seeing the danger, ordered his forces to halt, while he, with one Lucius Manlius, who was dexterous in climbing the steep mountains,³ went forward with great difficulty and at the hazard of his life, at midnight without any moon, scrambling among wild olive trees and steep rocks that still more impeded his view, and added darkness to the obscurity. At last they hit upon a path which seemed to lead down to the enemy's camp. There they set up marks upon some of the most conspicuous rocks on the top of the mountain Callidromus, and returning the same way, took the whole party with them, whom they conducted by the direction of the marks, and so regained the little path, where they made a proper disposition of the troops. They had marched but a little farther, when the path failed them, and they saw nothing before them but a precipice, which distressed them still more, for they could not yet perceive that they were near the enemy.

The day now began to appear, when one of them thought he heard the sound of human voices, and a little after they saw the Grecian camp, and the advanced guard at the foot of the rock. Cato, therefore, made a halt, and sent to acquaint the Firmians that he wanted to speak with them in private.⁴ These were troops whose fidelity and courage he had experienced on the most dangerous occasions. They hastened into his presence, when he thus addressed them: "I want to take one of the enemy alive, to learn of him who they are that compose this advanced guard, and how many in number, and to be informed what is the disposition and order of their whole army, and what preparations they have made to receive us, but the business requires the speed and impetuosity of lions, who rush into a herd of tumorous beasts."

¹ There cannot be a stronger instance than this, that the brief expression of the Spartans was owing to the native simplicity of their manners and the sincerity of their hearts. It was the expression of nature—Artificial and circumlocutory expressions, like homely paintings, are the consequences of dissipated life.

² In the Persian war Leonidas with 300 Spartans only, sustained the shock of an invincible multitude in the pass of Thermopylæ until the barbarians feebly

ing a compass round the mountains by br ways came upon him behind and cut his party in pieces.

³ The mountains to the east of the Straits of Thermopylæ are comprehended under the name of Oete, and the highest of them is called Callidromus at the foot of which is a road 60 feet broad. Liv. 1. xxxvi. c. 15.

⁴ Firmiana was a Roman colony in Picene.

When Cato had done speaking, the Firmians, without further preparation, poured down the mountain, surprised the advanced guard, dispersed them, took one armed man, and brought him to Cato. The prisoner informed him, that the main body of the army was encamped with the king in the narrow pass, and that the detachment which guarded the heights consisted of 600 select *Ætolians*. Cato, despising these troops, as well on account of their small number, as their negligence, drew his sword, and rushed upon them with all the alarm of voices and trumpets. The *Ætolians* no sooner saw him descend from the mountains, than they fled to the main body, and put the whole in the utmost confusion.

At the same time Manius forced the entrenchments of Antiochus below, and poured into the pass with his army. Antiochus himself being wounded in the mouth with a stone, and having some of his teeth struck out, the anguish obliged him to turn his horse and retire. After his retreat, no part of his army could stand the shock of the Romans; and though there appeared no hope of escaping by flight, by reason of the straitness of the road, the deep marshes on one side and rocky precipices on the other, yet they crowded along through those narrow passages, and pushing each other down, perished miserably, out of fear of being destroyed by the Romans.

Cato, who was never sparing in his own praises, and thought boasting a natural attendant on great actions, is very pompous in his account of this exploit. He says, "That those who saw him charging the enemy, routing and pursuing them, declared, that Cato owed less to the people of Rome, than the people of Rome owed to Cato; and that the Consul Manius himself, coming hot from the fight, took him in his arms as he too came panting from the action, and embracing him a long time, cried out, in a transport of joy, that neither he nor the whole Roman people could sufficiently reward Cato's merit."

Immediately after the battle, the Consul sent him with an account of it to Rome, that he might be the first to carry the news of his own achievements. With a favourable wind he sailed to Brundisium: from thence he reached Tarentum in one day: and having travelled four days more, he arrived at Rome the fifth day after he landed, and was the first that brought the news of the victory. His arrival filled the city with sacrifices and other testimonies of joy, and gave the people so high an opinion of themselves, that they now believed there could be no bounds to their empire or their power.

These are the most remarkable of Cato's actions; and with respect to civil affairs, he appears to have thought the impeaching of offenders, and bringing them to justice, a thing that well deserved his attention. For he prosecuted several, and encouraged and assisted others in carrying on their prosecutions. Thus he set up Petilius against Scipio the Great; but secure in the dignity of his family, and his own greatness of mind, Scipio treated the accusation with the utmost contempt. Cato perceiving he would not be capitally condemned, dropped the prosecution; but with some

others who assisted him in the cause, impeached his brother Lucius Scipio, who was sentenced to pay a fine which his circumstances could not answer, so that he was in danger of imprisonment; and it was not without great difficulty and appealing to the Tribunes that he was dismissed.

We have also an account of a young man who had procured a verdict against an enemy of his father who was lately dead, and had him stigmatized. Cato met him as he was passing through the *forum*, and taking him by the hand, addressed him in these words: "It is thus we are to sacrifice to the *manes* of our parents, not with the blood of goats and lambs, but with the tears and condemnation of their enemies."

Cato, however, did not escape these attacks; but when in the business of the state he gave the least handle, was certainly prosecuted, and sometimes in danger of being condemned. For it is said that near fifty impeachments were brought against him, and the last, when he was eighty-six years of age: on which occasion he made use of that memorable expression; "*It is hard that I who have lived with men of one generation, should be obliged to make my defence to those of another.*" Nor was this the end of his contests at the bar; for, four years after, at the age of ninety,¹ he impeached Servilius Galba: so that, like Nestor, he lived three generations, and, like him, was always in action. In short, after having constantly opposed Scipio in matters of government, he lived until the time of young Scipio, his adopted grandson, and son of Paulus Æmilius, who conquered Perseus and the Macedonians.

Ten years after his Consulship, Cato stood for the office of Censor, which was the highest dignity in the republic. For, besides the other power and authority that attended this office, it gave the magistrate a right of inquiry into the lives and manners of the citizens. *The Romans did not think it proper that any one should be left to follow his own inclinations without inspection or control*, either in marriage, in the procreation of children, in his table, or in the company he kept. But, convinced that in these private scenes of life a man's real character was much more distinguishable than in his public and political transactions, they appointed two magistrates, the one out of the patricians, and the other out of the plebeians, to inspect, to correct, and to chastise such as they found giving in to dissipation and licentiousness, and deserting the ancient and established manner of living. *These great officers they called Censors: and they had power to deprive a Roman knight of his horse, or to expel a senator that led a vicious and disorderly life.* They likewise took an estimate of each citizen's estate, and enrolled them according to their pedigree, quality, and condition.

¹ Plutarch here is not consistent with himself. Towards the beginning of his life he says that Cato was but seventeen years old at the time of Hannibal's success in Italy; and at the conclusion he tells us that Cato died just at the beginning of the third Punic war. But Hannibal came

into Italy in the year of Rome 534; and the third Punic war broke out seventy years after, in the year of Rome 604. According to this computation, Cato could not be more than eighty-seven years old when he died; and this account is confirmed by Cicero.

This office has several other great prerogatives annexed to it : and therefore when Cato solicited it, the principal senators opposed him. The motive to this opposition with some of the Patricians was envy : for they imagined it would be a disgrace to the nobility, if persons of a mean and obscure origin were elevated to the highest honour in the state ; with others it was fear : for, conscious that their lives were vicious, and that they had departed from the ancient simplicity of manners, they dreaded the austerity of Cato ; because they believed he would be stern and inexorable in his office. Having consulted and prepared their measures, they put up seven candidates in opposition to Cato : and imagining that the people wanted to be governed by an easy hand, they soothed them with hopes of a mild Censorship. Cato, on the contrary, without condescending to the least flattery or complaisance, in his speeches from the rostrum, professed his resolution to punish every instance of vice ; and loudly declaring that the city wanted great reformation, conjured the people, if they were wise, to choose, not the mildest, but the severest physician. He told them that *he was one of that character, and, among the patricians, Valerius Flaccus was another ; and that with him for his colleague, and him only, he could hope to render good service to the commonwealth, by effectually cutting off, like another hydra, the spreading luxury and effeminacy of the times.* He added, that he saw others pressing into the Censorship, in order to exercise that office in a bad manner, because they were afraid of such as would discharge it faithfully.

The Roman people, on this occasion, showed themselves truly great, and worthy of the best of leaders ; for, far from dreading the severity of this inflexible man, they rejected those smoother candidates that seemed ready to consult their pleasure in everything, and chose Valerius Flaccus with Cato ; attending to the latter not as a man that solicited the office of Censor, but as one who, already possessed of it, gave out his orders by virtue of his authority.

The first thing Cato did, was to name his friend and colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus chief of the senate, and to expel many others the house ; particularly Lucius Quintius, who had been Consul seven years before, and, what was still a greater honour, was brother to Titus Flaminius,¹ who overthrew king Philip.

He expelled also Manilius, another senator, whom the general opinion had marked out for Consul, because he had given his wife a kiss in the day-time, in the sight of his daughter. "For his own part," he said, "his wife never embraced him but when it thundered dreadfully," adding, by way of joke, "That he was happy when Jupiter pleased to thunder."

He was censured as having merely indulged his envy, when he degraded Lucius, who was brother to Scipio the Great, and had been honoured with a triumph ; *for he took from him his horse ;* and it was believed that he did it to insult the memory of Scipio Africanus. But there was another thing that rendered him more

¹ Polybius, Livy, and Cicero make the surname of this family Flaminius.

generally obnoxious, and that was the reformation he introduced in point of luxury. It was impossible for him to begin his attack upon it openly, because the whole body of the people was infected, and therefore he took an indirect method. He caused an estimate to be taken of all apparel, carriages, female ornaments, furniture, and utensils; and whatever exceeded 1500 *drachmæ* in value, he rated at ten times as much, and imposed a tax according to that valuation. For every 1000 *ases* he made them pay three; that finding themselves burdened with the tax, while the modest and frugal, with equal substance, paid much less to the public, they might be induced to retrench their appearance. This procured him many enemies, not only among those who, rather than part with their luxury, submitted to the tax, but among those who lessened the expense of their figure, to avoid it. For the generality of mankind think that prohibition to show their wealth is the same thing as taking it away, and that opulence is seen in the superfluities, not in the necessities of life. And this (we are told) was what surprised Aristo the philosopher; for he could not comprehend why those that are possessed of superfluities should be accounted happy, rather than such as abound in what is necessary and useful. But Scopas the Thessalian, when one of his friends asked him for something that could be of little use to him, and gave him that as a reason why he should grant his request, made answer, "*It is in these useless and superfluous things that I am rich and happy.*" Thus the desire of wealth, far from being a natural passion, is a foreign and adventitious one, arising from vulgar opinion.

Cato paid no regard to these complaints, but became still more severe and rigid. *He cut off the pipes by which people conveyed water from the public fountains into their houses and gardens, and demolished all the buildings that projected out into the streets.* He lowered the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at the highest rate they could bear. By these things he brought upon himself the hatred of vast numbers of people: so that Titus Flaminius and his party attacked him, and prevailed with the senate to annul the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings, as detrimental to the state. Nor did they stop here, but incited the boldest of the Tribunes to accuse him to the people, and fine him two talents. They likewise opposed him very much in his building, at the public charge, a hall below the senate-house by the forum which he finished notwithstanding, and called the *Porcian* hall.

The people, however, appear to have been highly pleased with his behaviour in his office. For when they erected his statue in the temple of *Health*, they make no mention on the pedestal of his victories and his triumph, but the inscription was to this effect: "*In honour of Cato, the Censor, who, when the Roman commonwealth was degenerating into licentiousness, by good discipline and wise institutions restored it.*"

Before this, he laughed at those who were fond of such honours, and said, "They were not aware that they plumed themselves upon

the workmanship of founders, statuaries, and painters, while the Romans bore about a more glorious image of him in their hearts." And to those that expressed their wonder, that while many persons of little note had their statues, Cato had none, he said, *He had much rather it should be asked, why he had not a statue, than why he had one.* In short, he was of opinion that a good citizen should not even accept of his due praise, unless it tended to the advantage of the community. Yet of all men he was the most forward to commend himself: for he tells us, that those who were guilty of misdemeanours, and afterwards reprov'd for them, used to say, "They were excusable; they were not Catos:" and that such as imitated some of his actions, but did it awkwardly, were called *left-handed Catos*. He adds, "That the senate, in difficult and dangerous times, used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers in ships do upon the pilot in a storm:" and "That when he happened to be absent, they frequently put off the consideration of matters of importance." These particulars, indeed, are confirmed by other writers; for *his life, his eloquence, and his age, gave him great authority in Rome.*

He was a good father, a good husband, and an excellent economist. And as he did not think the care of his family a mean and trifling thing, which required only a superficial attention, it may be of use to give some account of his conduct in that respect.

He chose his wife rather for her family than her fortune; persuaded, that though both the rich and the high-born have their pride, yet women of good families are more ashamed of any base and unworthy action, and more obedient to their husbands in every thing that is good and honourable. He used to say, that they who beat their wives or children, laid their sacrilegious hands on the most sacred things in the world; and that *he preferred the character of a good husband to that of a great senator.* And he admired nothing more in Socrates than his living in an easy and quiet manner with an ill-tempered wife and stupid children. When he had a son born, no business, however urgent, except it related to the public, could hinder him from being present while his wife washed and swaddled the infant. *For she suckled it herself;* nay, she often gave the breast to the sons of her servants, to inspire them with a brotherly regard for her own.

As soon as the dawn of understanding appeared, Cato took upon him the office of schoolmaster to his son, though he had a slave named Chilo, who was a good grammarian, and taught several other children. But he tells us, he did not choose that his son should be reprimanded by a slave, or pulled by the ears, if he happened to be slow in learning; or that he should be indebted to so mean a person for his education. *He was, therefore, himself his preceptor in grammar, in law, and in the necessary exercises.* For *he taught him not only how to throw a dart, to fight hand to hand, and to ride, but to box, to endure heat and cold, and to swim the most rapid rivers.* He farther acquaints us, that *he wrote histories for him with his own hand, in large characters, that, without stir-*

ring out of his father's house, he might gain a knowledge of the great actions of the ancient Romans and of the customs of his country. He was as careful not to utter an indecent word before his son, as he would have been in the presence of the vestal virgins; nor did he ever bathe with him. A regard to decency in this respect was indeed at that time general among the Romans. For even sons-in-law avoided bathing with their fathers-in-law, not choosing to appear naked before them; but afterwards the Greeks taught them not to be so scrupulous in uncovering themselves, and they in their turn taught the Greeks to bathe naked even before the women.

While Cato was taking such excellent measures for forming his son to virtue, he found him naturally ductile both in genius and inclination; but as his body was too weak to undergo much hardship, his father was obliged to relax the severity of his discipline, and to indulge him a little in point of diet. Yet, with this constitution, he was an excellent soldier, and particularly distinguished himself under Paulus Æmilius in the battle against Perseus. On this occasion, his sword happening to be struck from his hand, the moisture of which prevented him from grasping it firmly, he turned to some of his companions with great concern, and begged their assistance in recovering it. He then rushed with them into the midst of the enemy, and having, with extraordinary efforts, cleared the place where the sword was lost, he found it, with much difficulty, under heaps of arms, and dead bodies of friends, as well as enemies, piled upon each other. Paulus Æmilius admired this gallant action of the young man; and there is a letter still extant, written by Cato to his son, in which he extremely commends his high sense of honour expressed in the recovery of that sword. The young man afterwards married Tertia, daughter to Paulus Æmilius, and sister to young Scipio; the honour of which alliance was as much owing to his own as to his father's merit. Thus Cato's care in the education of his son answered the end proposed.

He had many slaves which he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts that may be trained at pleasure. None of these slaves ever went into any other man's house except they were sent by Cato or his wife, and if any of them was asked what his master was doing, he always answered he did not know. For it was a rule with Cato to have his slaves either employed in the house or asleep, and he liked those best that slept the most kindly, believing that they were better tempered than others that had not so much of that refreshment, and fitter for any kind of business. And as he knew that slaves will stick at nothing to gratify their passion for women, he allowed them to have the company of his female slaves, upon paying a certain price; but under a strict prohibition of approaching any other women.

When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up to his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his

palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his principal officers, as soon as dinner was over, he never failed to correct with leathern thongs such of his slaves as had not given due attendance, or had suffered any thing to be spoiled. He contrived means to raise quarrels among his servants, and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity.

When any of them were guilty of a capital crime, he gave them a formal trial, and put them to death in the presence of their fellow-servants. As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer dependencies, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, places proper for fullers, and estates in good condition, having pasture ground and wood-lands. From these he had a great revenue, such a one, he used to say, as Jupiter *himself could not disappoint him of*.

He practised usury upon ships in the most blameable manner. His method was to insist, that those whom he furnished with money, should take a great number into partnership. When there were full fifty of them, and as many ships, he demanded one share for himself, which he managed by Quintio, his freedman, who sailed and trafficked along with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

He likewise lent money to such of his slaves as chose it; and they employed it in purchasing boys who were afterwards instructed and fitted for service at Cato's expense; and being sold at the year's end by auction, Cato took several of them himself, at the price of the highest bidder, deducting it out of what he had lent. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him, *That to diminish his substance was not the part of a man but of a widow woman*. Yet he carried the thing to extravagance, when he hazarded this assertion, *That the man truly wonderful and Godlike, and fit to be registered in the lists of glory, was he, by whose accounts it should at last appear that he had more than doubled what he had received from his ancestors*.

When Cato was very far advanced in years, there arrived at Rome, two ambassadors from Athens,¹ Carneades the *Academic*, and Diogenes the *Stoic*. They were sent to beg off a fine of 500 talents which had been imposed on the Athenians, for contumacy, by the Sicyonians, at the suit of the people of Oropus.² Upon the arrival of these philosophers, such of the Roman youth as had a taste for learning went to wait on them, and heard them with wonder and delight. Above all, *they were charmed with the graceful manners of Carneades, the force of whose eloquence, being great and his reputation equal to his eloquence had drawn an audience of the most considerable and the politest persons in Rome; and the sound*

¹ Aulus Gellius mentions a third ambassador, Critolaus the *Peripatetic*.

² The Athenians had plundered the city of Oropus. Upon complaint made by the

inhabitants, the affair was referred to the determination of the Eleans, and the Athenians not appearing to justify themselves were fined 500 talents.

of his fame, like a mighty wind, had filled the whole city. The report ran, that there was come from Greece a man of astonishing powers, whose eloquence, more than human, was able to soften and disarm the fiercest passions, and who had made so strong an impression upon the youth, that, forgetting all other pleasures and diversions, they were quite possessed with an enthusiastic love of philosophy.

The Romans were delighted to find it so; nor could they without uncommon pleasure behold their sons thus fondly receive the Grecian literature, and follow these wonderful men. But Cato, from the beginning, was alarmed at it. He no sooner perceived this passion for the Grecian learning prevail, but he was afraid that the youth would turn their ambition that way, and prefer the glory of eloquence to that of deeds of arms. But when he found that the reputation of these philosophers rose still higher, and their first speeches were translated into Latin, by Caius Acilius, a senator of great distinction, who had earnestly begged the favour of interpreting them, he had no longer patience, but resolved to dismiss these philosophers upon some decent and specious pretence.

He went, therefore, to the senate, and complained of the magistrates for detaining so long such ambassadors as those, who could persuade the people to whatever they pleased. "You ought," said he, "to determine their affair as speedily as possible, that returning to their schools they may hold forth to the Grecian youth, and that our young men may again give attention to the laws and the magistrates." Not that Cato was induced to this by any particular pique to Carneades, which some suppose to have been the case, but by his aversion to philosophy, and his making it a point to show his contempt of the polite studies and learning of the Greeks. Nay he scrupled not to affirm, "That Socrates himself was a prating, seditious fellow, who used his utmost endeavours to tyrannize over his country by abolishing its customs, and drawing the people over to opinions contrary to the laws." And, to ridicule the slow methods of Isocrates's teaching, he said, "His scholars grew old in learning their art, as if they intended to exercise it in the shades below, and to plead causes there." And to dissuade his son from those studies, he told him in a louder tone than could be expected from a man of his age, and as it were, in an oracular and prophetic way, *That when the Romans came thoroughly to imbibe the Grecian literature, they would lose the empire of the world.* But time has shown the vanity of that invidious assertion; for Rome was never at a higher pitch of greatness, than when she was most perfect in the Grecian erudition, and most attentive to all manner of learning.¹

¹ Rome had indeed a very extensive empire in the Augustan age, but, at the same time, she lost her ancient constitution and her liberty. Not that the learn-

ing of the Romans contributed to that loss, but their irreligion, their luxury, and corruption, occasioned it.

Nor was Cato an enemy to the Grecian philosophers only, but looked upon the physicians also with a suspicious eye. He had heard, it seems, of the answer which Hippocrates gave the king of Persia, when he sent for him, and offered him a reward of many talents, "*I will never make use of my art in favour of barbarians who are enemies to the Greeks.*" This he had said was an oath which all the physicians had taken, and therefore he advised his son to beware of them all. He added, that he himself had written a little treatise, in which he had set down his method of cure,¹ and the regimen he prescribed, when any of his family fell sick; that he never recommended fasting, but allowed them herbs, with duck, pigeon, or hare: such kind of diet being light and suitable for sick people, having no other inconvenience but its making them dream; and that with these remedies and this regimen, he preserved himself and his family. But his self-sufficiency in this respect went not unpunished; for he lost both his wife and son. He himself, indeed, by his strong make and good habit of body, lasted long; so that even in old age he frequently indulged his inclination for the sex, and at an unseasonable time of life married a young woman.

After the death of his wife, he married his son to the daughter of Paulus Æmilius, the sister of Scipio; and continued a widower, but had a young female slave that came privately to his bed. It could not, however, be long a secret in a small house, with a daughter-in-law in it; and one day as the favourite slave passed by with a haughty and flaunting air, to go to the Censor's chamber, young Cato gave her a severe look, and turned his back upon her, but said not a word. The old man was soon informed of this circumstance, and finding that this kind of commerce displeased his son and his daughter-in-law, he did not expostulate with them, nor take the least notice. Next morning he went to the forum, according to custom, with his friends about him; and as he went along, he called aloud to one Salonius, who had been his secretary, and now was one of his train, and asked him, "Whether he had provided a husband for his daughter?" Upon his answering, "That he had not, nor should without consulting his best friend;" Cato said, "Why then, I have found out a very fit husband for her, if she can bear with the disparity of age: for in other respects he is unexceptionable, but he is very old." Salonius replying "That he left the disposal of her entirely to him, for she was under his protection, and had no dependence but upon his bounty;" Cato said without farther ceremony, "Then I will be your son-in-law." The man at first was astonished at the proposal, as may easily be imagined; believing Cato past the time of life for marrying, and knowing himself far beneath an alliance with a family that had been

¹ Cato's medical receipts, may be found in his treatise of country affairs, are either very simple or very dangerous; and fasting, which he exploded, is better than them all. Duck, pigeon, and hare, which,

if we may believe Plutarch, he gave his sick people as a light diet, are certainly the strongest and most indigestible kinds of food.

honoured with the consulate and a triumph. But when he saw that Cato was in earnest, he embraced the offer with joy, and the marriage contract was signed as soon as they came to the forum.

While they were busied in preparing for the nuptials, young Cato, taking his relations with him, went and asked his father, "What offence he had committed, that he was going to put a mother-in-law upon him?" Cato immediately answered, "Ask not such a question, my son; for, instead of being offended, I have reason to praise your whole conduct: I am only desirous of having more such sons, and leaving more such citizens to my country." But this answer is said to have been given long before, by Pisistratus the Athenian tyrant who, when he had sons by a former wife already grown up, married a second, Timonassa of Argos, by whom he is said to have had two sons more, Jophon and Thessalus.

By this wife Cato had a son, whom he called Saloniæ after his mother's father. As for his eldest son Cato, he died in his prætorship. His father often makes mention of him in his writings as a brave and worthy man. He bore this loss with the moderation of a philosopher, applying himself with his usual activity to affairs of state. For he did not, like Lucius Lucullus afterwards, and Metellus Pius, think age an exemption from the service of the public, but considered that service as his indispensable duty; nor yet did he act as Scipio Africanus had done, who finding himself attacked and opposed by envy in his course of glory, quitted the administration, and spent the remainder of his days in retirement and inaction. But, as one told Dionysius, that the most honourable death was to die in possession of sovereign power, so Cato esteemed that the most honourable old age, which was spent in serving the commonwealth. The amusements in which he passed his leisure hours, were the writing of books and tilling the ground: and this is the reason of our having so many treatises on various subjects, and histories of his composing.¹

In his younger days he applied himself to agriculture, with a view to profit; for he used to say, he had only two ways of increasing his income, *labour* and *parsimony*; but as he grew old, he regarded it only by way of theory and amusement. He wrote a book concerning country affairs,² in which, among other things, he gives rules for making cakes and preserving fruit; for he was desirous to be thought curious and particular in every thing. He kept a better table in the country than in the town; for he always invited some of his acquaintance in the neighbourhood to sup with him. With these he passed the time in cheerful conversation, making himself agreeable not only to those of his own age, but to the young; for he had a thorough knowledge of the world, and had

¹ Besides 160 orations, and more, that he left behind him, he wrote a treatise of military discipline, and books of antiquities; in two of these he treats of the foundation of the cities of Italy: the other five contained the Roman history,

particularly a narrative of the first and second Punic war.

² This is the only work of his that remains entire; of the rest we have only fragments.

either seen himself, or heard from others, a variety of things that were curious and entertaining. *He looked upon the table as one of the best means of forming friendships: and at his, the conversation generally turned upon the praises of great and excellent men among the Romans;* as for the bad and the unworthy, no mention was made of them, for he would not allow in his company one word, either good or bad, to be said of such kind of men.

The last service he is said to have done the public, was the destruction of Carthage. The younger Scipio indeed gave the finishing stroke to that work, but it was undertaken chiefly by the advice and at the instance of Cato. The Carthaginians and Massinissa, king of Numidia, being at war with each other, Cato was sent into Africa to inquire into the causes of the quarrel. Massinissa from the first had been a friend to the Romans, and the Carthaginians were admitted into their alliance after the great overthrow they received from Scipio the elder, but upon terms which deprived them of great part of their dominions, and imposed a heavy tribute.¹ When Cato arrived at Carthage, he found that city not in the exhausted and humble condition which the Romans imagined, but full of men fit to bear arms, abounding in money, in arms, in warlike stores, and not a little elated in the thought of its being so well provided. He concluded, therefore, that it was now time for the Romans to endeavour to settle the points in dispute between the Numidians and Carthage; and that, if they did not soon make themselves master of that city, which was their old enemy, and retained strong resentments of the usage she had lately received, and which had not only recovered herself after her losses, but was prodigiously increased in wealth and power, they would soon be exposed to all their former dangers. For this reason he returned in all haste to Rome, where he informed the senate, "That the defeats and other misfortunes which had happened to the Carthaginians, had not so much drained them of their forces, as cured them of their folly; and that, in all probability, instead of a weaker, they had made them a more skilful and warlike enemy; that their war with the Numidians was only a prelude to future combats with the Romans; and that the late peace was a mere name, for they considered it only as a suspension of arms, which they were willing to avail themselves of, till they had a favourable opportunity to renew the war."

It is said, that *at the conclusion of his speech he shook the lap of his gown, and purposely dropped some Libyan figs; and when he found the senators admired them for their size and beauty, he told them, "That the country where they grew was but three day's sail from Rome. But what is a stronger instance of his enmity to Carthage, he never gave his opinion in the senate upon any other point whatever, without adding these words* DELANDA EST CAR-

¹ Scipio Africanus obliged the Carthaginians, at the conclusion of the second Punic war, to deliver up their fleet to the Romans, yield to Massinissa part of

Syphax's dominions, and pay the Romans 10,000 talents. This peace was made in the third year of Olympiad 141, 200 years before the Christian era.

THAGE, *Carthage should be destroyed.*" Scipio, surnamed Nasica, made it a point to maintain the contrary, and concluded all his speeches thus, "And my opinion is, that Carthage should be left standing." It is very likely that this great man, perceiving that the people were come to such a pitch of insolence, as to be led by it into the greatest excesses (so that in the pride of prosperity they could not be restrained by the senate, but by their overgrown power were able to draw the government what way they pleased,) thought it best that Carthage should remain to keep them in awe, and to moderate their presumption. For he saw that the Carthaginians were not strong enough to conquer the Romans, and yet too respectable an enemy to be despised by them. On the other hand, Cato thought it dangerous, while the people were thus inebriated and giddy with power, to suffer a city which had always been great, and which was now grown sober and wise through its misfortunes, to lie watching every advantage against them. It appeared to him, therefore, the wisest course, to have all outward dangers removed from the commonwealth, that it might be at leisure to guard against internal corruption.

Thus Cato occasioned the third and last war against the Carthaginians. But as soon as it began he died, having first prophesied of the person that should put an end to it; who was then a young man, and had only a tribune's command in the army, but was giving extraordinary proofs of his conduct and valour. The news of these exploits being brought to Rome, Cato cried out,

"He is the soul of council; the rest are shadows vain."

This Scipio soon confirmed by his actions.

Cato left one son by his second wife, surnamed Salonius, and a grandson by the son of his first wife, who died before him. Salonius died in his prætorship, leaving a son named Marcus, who came to be consul, and was grandfather¹ to Cato the Philosopher, the best and most illustrious man of his time.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

WHEN I first applied myself to the writing of these Lives it was for the sake of others, but I pursue that study for my own sake; availing myself of history as of a mirror, from which I learn to adjust and regulate my own conduct. For it is like living and conversing with these illustrious men, when I invite as it were, and receive them, one after another, under my roof: when I consider how great and wonderful they were, and select from their actions the most memorable and glorious.

Ye gods! what greater pleasure? What HAPPIER ROAD TO VIRTUE?

¹ This is a mistake in Plutarch; for Salonius was the grandfather, and Marcus the father of Cato of Utica.

Democritus has a position in his philosophy,¹ utterly false indeed, and leading to endless superstitions. That there are phantasms or images continually floating in the air, some propitious, and some unlucky, and advises us to pray, that such may strike upon our senses, as are agreeable to and perfective of our nature, and not such as have a tendency to vice and error. For my part, instead of this, I fill my mind with the sublime images of the best and greatest men, by attention to history and biography; and if I contract any blemish or ill custom from other company which I am unavoidably engaged in, I correct and expel them, by calmly and dispassionately turning my thoughts to these excellent examples. For the same purpose, I now put into your hands the life of Timoleon the Corinthian, and that of Æmilius Paulus, men famous not only for their virtues, but their success; insomuch that they have left room to doubt, whether their great achievements were not more owing to their good fortune than their prudence.

Most writers agree, that the Æmilian family was one of the most ancient among the Roman nobility; and it is asserted, that the founder of it, who also left it his surname, was Mamercus² the son of Pythagoras the philosopher,³ who, for the peculiar charms and gracefulness of his elocution, was called Æmilius; such, at least, is the opinion of those who say that Numa was educated under Pythagoras.

Those of this family that distinguished themselves⁴ found their attachment to virtue generally blessed with success. And notwithstanding the ill fortune of Lucius Paulus at Cannæ, he showed on that occasion both his prudence and his valour. For, when he could not dissuade his colleague from fighting, he joined him in the combat, though much against his will, but did not partake with him in his flight: on the contrary, when he who plunged them in the danger deserted the field, Paulus stood his ground, and fell bravely amidst the enemy, with his sword in his hand.

This Paulus had a daughter named Æmilia, who was married to Scipio the Great, and a son called Paulus, whose history I am now writing.

At the time he made his appearance in the world, Rome abounded in men who were celebrated for their virtues and other excellent accomplishments;⁵ and even among these Æmilius made a distin-

¹ Democritus held, that visible objects produced their image in the ambient air, which image produced a second, and the second a third still less than the former, and so on till the last produced its counterpart in the eye. This he supposed the process of the act of vision. But he went on to what is infinitely more absurd. He maintained that thought was formed, according as those images struck upon the imagination; that of these there were some good and some evil; that the good produced virtuous thoughts in us, and the evil the contrary.

² See the life of Numa.

³ He is called Pythagoras the philosopher, to distinguish him from Pythagoras the famed wrestler.

⁴ From Lucius Æmilius, who was consul in the year of Rome 276, and overcame the Volscians, to Lucius Paulus, who was father to Paulus Æmilius, and who fell at Cannæ, in the year of Rome 637, there were many of these Æmilii renowned for their victories and triumphs.

⁵ In that period we find the Sempronii, the Albi, the Fabii Maximi, the Marcellii, the Scipios, the Fulvii, Sulpicii, Cethegi, Metelli, and other great and excellent men.

guished figure, without pursuing the same studies, or setting out in the same track, with the young nobility of that age. For he did not exercise himself in pleading causes, nor could he stoop to salute, to solicit, and caress the people, which was the method that most men took who aimed at popularity. Not but that he had talents from nature to acquit himself well in either of these respects, but he reckoned the honour that flows from valour, from justice, and probity, preferable to both; and in these virtues he soon surpassed all the young men of his time.

The first of the great offices of state for which he was a candidate, was that of *Edile*, as¹ he carried it against twelve competitors, who, we are told, were all afterwards consuls. And when he was appointed one of the *Augurs*, whom the Romans employ in the inspection and care of divination by the flight of birds and by prodigies in the air, he studied so attentively the usages of his country, and acquainted himself so perfectly with the ancient ceremonies of religion, that what before was only considered as an honour, and sought for on account of the authority annexed to it,² appeared in his hands to be one of the principal arts. Thus he confirmed the definition which is given by some philosophers, *That religion is the science of worshipping the gods*. He did every thing with skill and application, he laid aside all other concerns while he attended to this, and made not the least omission or innovation, but disputed with his colleagues about the smallest article, and insisted, that though the Deity might be supposed to be merciful, and willing to overlook some neglect, yet it was dangerous for the state to connive at and pass by such things. *For no man ever began his attempts against government with an enormous crime; and the relaxing in the smallest matters, breaks down the fences of the greatest.*

Nor was he less exact in requiring and observing the Roman military discipline. He did not study to be popular in command, nor endeavour, like the generality, to make one commission the foundation for another, by humouring and indulging the soldiery;³ but as a priest instructs the initiated with care in the sacred ceremonies, so he explained to those that were under him the rules and customs of war, and being inexorable, at the same time, to those that transgressed them, he re-established his country in its former glory. Indeed, with him, the beating of an enemy was a matter of much less account, than the bringing of his countrymen to strict discipline; the one seeming to be the necessary consequence of the other.

During the war which the Romans were engaged in with Antiochus the Great,⁴ in the east, and⁵ in which their most experi-

¹ Under pretence that the auspices were favourable or otherwise, the *Augurs* had it in their power to promote or put a stop to any public affair whatever.

² The Roman soldiers were, at the same time, citizens, who had votes for the great employments, both civil and military.

³ The war with Antiochus the Great,

king of Syria, began about the year of Rome 561, 24 years after the battle of Cannæ.

⁴ The consul Glabrio, and after him the two Scipios; the elder of whom was content to serve as lieutenant under his brother. Liv. l. xxxvii.

enced officers were employed, another broke out in the west. There was a general revolt in Spain;¹ and thither Æmilius was sent, not with six *legions* only, like other *prætors*, but with twice the number; which seemed to raise his dignity to an equality with the consular. He beat the barbarians in two pitched battles,² and killed 30,000 of them: which success appears to have been owing to his generalship in choosing his ground, and attacking the enemy while they were passing a river; for by these means his army gained an easy victory. He made himself master of 250 cities, which voluntarily opened their gates; and having established peace throughout the province, and secured its allegiance, he returned to Rome, not a *drachma* richer than he went out. He never, indeed, was desirous to enrich himself, but lived in a generous manner on his own estate, which was so far from being large, that after his death, it was hardly sufficient to answer his wife's dowry.

His first wife was Papiria, the daughter of Papirius Maso, a man of consular dignity. After he had lived with her a long time in wedlock he divorced her, though she had brought him very fine children; for she was mother to the illustrious Scipio and to Fabius Maximus. History does not acquaint us with the reason of this separation; but with respect to divorces in general, the account which a certain Roman, who put away his wife, gave of his own case, seems to be a just one. When his friends remonstrated, and asked him, *Was she not chaste? Was she not fair? Was she not fruitful? he held out his shoe, and said, Is it not handsome? Is it not new? yet none knows where it wrings him, but he that wears it.* Certain it is, that men usually repudiate their wives for great and visible faults; yet sometimes also a peevishness of temper or incompliance of manners, small and frequent distastes, though not discerned by the world, produce the most incurable aversions in a married life.³

Æmilius, thus separated from Papiria, married a second wife, by

¹ Spain had been reduced by Scipio Nasica.

² Livy, xxxvii. 57, speaks only of one battle, in which Paulus Æmilius forced the entrenchments of the Spaniards, killed 18,000 of them, and made 300 prisoners.

³ Dr. Robertson mentions this frequency of divorces as one of the necessary reasons for introducing the Christian religion at that period of time when it was published to the world. "Divorces," says he, "on very slight pretences, were permitted both by the Greek and Roman legislators. And though the pure manners of those republics restrained for some time the operation of such a pernicious institution; though the virtue of private persons seldom abused the indulgence that the legislator allowed them, yet no sooner had the establishment of arbitrary power and the progress of luxury vitiated the taste of men, than the law with regard to divorces was found to be amongst the worst corruptions that prevailed in that abandoned age. The facility

of separations rendered married persons careless of practising or obtaining those virtues which render domestic life easy and delightful. The education of their children, as the parents were not mutually endeared or inseparably connected, was generally disregarded, as each parent considered it but a partial care, which might with equal justice devolve on the other. Marriage, instead of restraining, added to the violence of irregular desire, and under a legal title became the vilest and most shameless prostitution. From all these causes the marriage state fell into disreputation and contempt, and it became necessary to force men by penal laws into a society where they expected no secure or lasting happiness. Among the Romans domestic corruption grew of a sudden to an incredible height. And perhaps in the history of mankind we can find no parallel to the undiagnosed impurity and licentiousness of that age. It was in good time therefore, &c. &c."

whom he had also two sons. These he brought up in his own house; the sons of Papiria being adopted into the greatest and most noble families in Rome, the elder by Fabius Maximus, who was five times consul, and the younger by his cousin-german, the son of Scipio Africanus, who gave him the name of Scipio. One of his daughters was married to the son of Cato, and the other to Ælius Tubero, a man of superior integrity, and who, of all the Romans, knew best how to bear poverty. There were no less than sixteen of the Ælian family and name, who had only a small house, and one farm amongst them; and in this house they all lived, with their wives and many children. Here dwelt the daughter of Æmilius, who had been twice consul, and had triumphed twice, not ashamed of her husband's poverty, but admiring that virtue which kept him poor. Very different is the behaviour of brothers and other near relations in these days; who, if their possessions be not separated by extensive countries, or at least rivers and bulwarks, are perpetually at variance about them. So much instruction does history suggest to the consideration of those who are willing to profit by it.

When Æmilius was created consul,¹ he went upon an expedition against the Ligurians, whose country lies at the foot of the Alps, and who are also called Ligustines: a bold and martial people who learned the art of war of the Romans, by means of their vicinity. For they dwelt in the extremities of Italy, bordering upon that part of the Alps which is washed by the Tuscan Sea, just opposite to Africa, and were mixed with the Gauls and Spaniards, who inhabited the coast. At that time they had likewise some strength at sea, and their corsairs plundered and destroyed the merchant ships as far as the pillars of Hercules. They had an army of 40,000 men to receive Æmilius, who came with but 8000 at the most. He engaged them, however, though five times his number, routed them entirely, and shut them up within their walled towns. When they were in these circumstances, he offered them reasonable and moderate terms. For the Romans did not choose utterly to cut off the people of Liguria, whom they considered as a bulwark against the Gauls, who were always hovering over Italy. The Ligurians, confiding in Æmilius, delivered up their ships and their towns. He only razed the fortifications and then delivered the cities to them again, but he carried off their shipping, leaving them not a vessel bigger than those with three banks of oars; and he set at liberty a number of prisoners whom they had made both at sea and land, as well Romans as strangers.

Such were the memorable actions of his first consulship. After which he often expressed his desire of being appointed again to the same high office, and even stood candidate for it; but, meeting with a repulse, he solicited it no more. Instead of that, he applied himself to the discharge of his function as *augur*, and to the education of his sons, not only in such arts as had been taught in Rome, and those that he had learned himself, but also in the

¹ It was the year following that he went against the Ligurians.

genteeler arts of Greece. To this purpose he not only entertained masters who could teach them grammar, logic, and rhetoric, but sculpture also and painting, together with such as were skilled in breaking and teaching horses and dogs, and were to instruct them in riding and hunting. When no public affairs hindered him, he himself always attended their studies and exercises. In short, he was the most indulgent parent in Rome.

As to the public affairs, the Romans were then engaged in a war with Perseus¹ king of the Macedonians, and they imputed it either to the incapacity or cowardice of their generals² that the advantage was on the enemy's side. For they who had forced Antiochus the Great to quit the rest of Asia,³ driven him beyond mount Taurus, confined him to Syria, and made him think himself happy if he could purchase his peace with 15,000 talents; ⁴ they who had lately vanquished king Philip in Thessaly,⁵ and delivered the Greeks from the Macedonian yoke; in short, they who had subdued Hannibal, to whom no king could be compared either for valour or power, thought it an intolerable thing to be obliged to contend with Perseus upon equal terms, as if he could be an adversary able to cope with them, who only brought into the field the poor remains of his father's routed forces. In this, however, the Romans were deceived; for they knew not that Philip, after his defeat, had raised a much more numerous and better disciplined army, than he had before. It may not be amiss to explain this in a few words, beginning at the fountain head. Antigonus,⁶ the most powerful among the generals and successors of Alexander, having gained for himself and his descendants the title of king, had a son named Demetrius, who was father to Antigonus, surnamed *Gonatus*. *Gonatus* had a son named Demetrius, who, after a short reign, left a young son called *Philip*. The Macedonian nobility, dreading the confusion often consequent upon a minority, set up Antigonus, cousin to the deceased king, and gave him his widow, the mother of Philip, to wife. At first they made him only regent and general, but afterwards finding that he was a moderate and public-spirited man, they declared him king. He it was that had the name of *Doson*,⁷ because he was always promising, but never performed what he promised. After him, Philip mounted the throne, and though yet but a youth, soon showed himself equal to the greatest of kings, so that it was believed that he would restore the crown of Macedon to

¹ This second Macedonian war with Perseus began in the year of Rome 162, 100 years before the Christian era.

² Those generals were P. Licinius Crassus, after him A. Hostilius Mancinus, and then Q. Marcius Philippus, who dragged the war heavily on during the three years of their consulship.

³ Seventeen years before.

⁴ Livy says 12,000, which were to be paid in twelve years, by 1,000 talents a year.

⁵ This service was performed by Quintus

Flaminius, who defeated Philip in Thessaly, killed 5,000 of his men upon the spot, took 5,000 prisoners, and after his victory caused proclamation to be made by a herald, at the Isthmian games, that Greece was free.

⁶ This Antigonus killed Eumenes, and took Babylon from Seleucus; and when his son Demetrius had overthrown Ptolemy's fleet at Cyprus, he, the first of all Alexander's successors, presumed to wear a diadem, and assumed the title of king.

⁷ *Doson* signifies will give.

its ancient dignity, and be the only man that could stop the progress of the Roman power which was now extending itself over all the world. But being beaten at Scotusa by Titus Flaminius, his courage sank for the present, and promising to receive such terms as the Romans should impose, he was glad to come off with a moderate fine. But recollecting himself afterwards, he could not brook the dishonour. To reign by the courtesy of the Romans, appeared to him more suitable to a slave, who minds nothing but his pleasures, than to a man who has any dignity of sentiment, and therefore he turned his thoughts to war, but made his preparations with great privacy and caution. For suffering the towns that were near the great roads and by the sea, to run to decay, and to become half desolate, in order that he might be held in contempt by the enemy, he collected a great force in the higher provinces; and filling the inland places, the towns, and castles, with arms, money, and men, fit for service, without making any show of war, he had his troops always in readiness for it, like so many wrestlers trained and exercised in secret. For he had in his arsenal arms for 30,000 men, in his garrisons eight millions of measures of wheat, and money in his coffers to defray the charge of maintaining 10,000 mercenaries for ten years to defend his country. But he had not the satisfaction of putting these designs in execution; for he died of grief and a broken heart, on discovering that he had unjustly put Demetrius, his more worthy son, to death,¹ in consequence of an accusation preferred by his other son, Perseus.

Perseus, who survived him, inherited, together with the crown, his father's enmity to the Romans; but he was not equal to such a burden, on account of the littleness of his capacity and the meanness of his manners: avarice being the principal of the many passions that reigned in his distempered heart. It is even said, that he was not the son of Philip, but that the wife of that prince took him, as soon as he was born, from his mother, who was a sempstress of Argos, named Gnathænia, and passed him upon her husband as her own. And the chief reason of his compassing the death of his brother seemed to have been his fear that the royal house, having a lawful heir, might prove him to be supposititious. But though he was of such an abject and ungenerous disposition, yet, elated with the prosperous situation of his affairs, he engaged in war with the Romans, and maintained the conflict a long while, repulsing several of their fleets and armies, commanded by men of consular dignity, and even beating some of them. Publius Licinius was the first who invaded Macedonia, and him he defeated in an engagement of the cavalry,² killed 2,500 of his best men, and took 600 prisoners. He surprised the Roman fleet which lay at anchor at Ormeum, took twenty of their store-ships, sunk the rest that were loaded with

¹ This story is finely embellished in Dr. Young's tragedy of *The Brothers*.

² Livy has given us a description of this action at the end of his forty-second book. Perseus offered peace to those he had beaten upon as easy conditions as if he

himself had been overthrown, but the Romans refused it: they made it a rule, indeed, never to make peace when beaten. The rule proved a wise one for that people, but can never be universally adopted.

wheat, and made himself master, besides, of four galleys which had each five benches of oars. He fought also another battle, by which he drove back the consul Hostilius, who was attempting to enter his kingdom by Elimia; and when the same general was stealing in by the way of Thessaly, he presented himself before him, but the Roman did not choose to stand the encounter. And as if this war did not sufficiently employ him, or the Romans alone were not an enemy respectable enough, he went upon an expedition against the Dardanians, in which he cut in pieces 10,000 of them, and brought off much booty. At the same time he privately solicited the Gauls, who dwell near the Danube, and who are called Bastarnæ. These were a warlike people, and strong in cavalry. He tried the Illyrians too, hoping to bring them to join him by means of Gentius their king; and it was reported that the barbarians had taken his money, under promise of making an inroad into Italy, by the Lower Gaul along the coast of the Adriatic.¹

When this news was brought to Rome, the people thought proper to lay aside all regard to interest and solicitation in the choice of their generals, and to call to the command a man of understanding, fit for the direction of great affairs. Such was Paulus Æmilius, a man advanced in years indeed (for he was about threescore), but still in his full strength, and surrounded with young sons, and sons-in-law, and a number of other considerable relations and friends, who all persuaded him to listen to the people that called him to the consulship. At first he received the offer of the citizens very coldly, though they went so far as to court and even to entreat him; for he was now no longer ambitious of that honour; but as they daily attended at his gate and loudly called upon him to make his appearance in the forum, he was at length prevailed upon. When he put himself among the candidates, he looked not like a man who sued for the consulship, but as one who brought success along with him: and when, at the request of the citizens, he went down into the *Campus Martius*, they all received him with so entire a confidence and such a cordial regard, that upon their creating him consul the second time, they would not suffer the lots to be cast for the provinces,² as usual, but voted him immediately the direction of the war in Macedonia. It is said, that after the people had appointed him commander-in-chief against Perseus, and conducted him home in a very splendid manner, he found his daughter Tertia, who was yet but a child, in tears. Upon this he took her in his arms, and asked her "Why she wept?" The girl, embracing and kissing him, said, "Know you not then, father, that Perseus is dead?" meaning a little dog of that name, which she had brought up. To which Æmilius replied, "'Tis a lucky inci-

¹ He practised also with Eumenes king of Bithynia, and caused representations to be made to Antiochus king of Syria, that the Romans were equally enemies to all kings: but Eumenes demanding 1,600 talents, a stop was put to the

negotiation. The very treating, however, with Perseus, occasioned an inveterate hatred between the Romans and their old friend Eumenes: but that hatred was of no service to Perseus.

² Livy says the contrary.

dent, child, I accept the omen." This particular is related by Cicero, in his Treatise on *Divination*.

It was the custom for those that were appointed to the consulship, to make their acknowledgments to the people in an agreeable speech from the *rostrum*. Æmilius having assembled the citizens on this occasion, told them, "He had applied for his former consulship, because he wanted a command; but in this, they had applied to him, because they wanted a commander; and therefore, at present, he did not hold himself obliged to them. If they could have the war better directed by another, he would readily quit the employment; but if they placed their confidence in him, he expected they would not interfere with his orders, or propagate idle reports, but provide in silence what was necessary for the war: for, if they wanted to command their commanders, their expeditions would be more ridiculous than ever." It is not easy to express how much reverence this speech procured him from the citizens, and what high expectations it produced of the event. They rejoiced that they had passed by the smooth-tongued candidates, and made choice of a general who had so much freedom of speech and such dignity of manner. Thus the Romans submitted, like servants, to reason and virtue, in order that they might one day rule, and become masters of the world.

That Paulus Æmilius, when he went upon the Macedonian expedition, had a prosperous voyage and journey, and arrived with speed and safety in the camp, I impute to his good fortune; but when I consider how the war was conducted, and see that the greatness of his courage, the excellence of his counsels, the attachment of his friends, his presence of mind, and happiness in expedients in times of danger, all contributed to his success, I cannot place his great and distinguished actions to any account but his own. Indeed, the avarice of Perseus may possibly be looked upon as a fortunate circumstance for Æmilius; since it blasted and ruined the great preparations and elevated hopes of the Macedonians, by a mean regard to money. For the Bastarnæ came at his request, with a body of 10,000 horse,¹ each of which had a foot soldier by his side, and they all fought for hire; men they were that knew not how to till the ground, to feed cattle, or to navigate ships, but whose sole profession and employment was to fight and to conquer. When these pitched their tents in Medica, and mingled with the king's forces, who beheld them tall in their persons, ready beyond expression at their exercises, lofty and full of menaces against the enemy, the Macedonians were inspired with

¹ Livy (xliv. 26) has well described this horseman and his foot soldiers. He says, "There came 10,000 horse, and as many foot who kept pace with the horse, and when any of the cavalry were unhorsed, they mounted and went into the ranks." They were the same people with those described by Cæsar in the first book of his *Commentaries*, where he is

giving an account of Ariovistus's army. As soon as Perseus had intelligence of the approach of the Bastarnæ, he sent Antigonus to congratulate Clondius their king. Clondius made answer, that the Gauls could not march a step farther without money which Perseus in his avarice and ill policy refused to advance.

fresh courage, and a strong opinion, that the Romans would not be able to stand against these mercenaries, but be terrified both at their looks and at their strange and astonishing motions.

After Perseus had filled his people with such spirits and hopes, the barbarians demanded of him 1000 pieces of gold for every officer; but the thoughts of parting with such a sum almost turned his brain, and in the narrowness of his heart, he refused it, and broke off the alliance; as if he had not been at war with the Romans, but a steward for them, who was to give an exact account of his whole expenses to those whom he was acting against. At the same time¹ the example of the enemy pointed out to him better things, for, besides their other preparations, they had 100,000 men collected and ready for their use, and yet he having to oppose so considerable a force, and an armament that was maintained at such an extraordinary expense, counted his gold and sealed his bags, as much afraid to touch them as if they had belonged to another. And yet he was not descended from any Lydian or Phœnician merchant, but allied to Alexander and Philip, whose maxim it was to *procure empire with money, and not money by empire*, and who, by pursuing that maxim, conquered the world. For it was a common saying, "*That it was not Philip, but Philip's gold, that took the cities of Greece.*" As for Alexander, when he went upon the Indian expedition, and saw the Macedonians dragging after them a heavy and unwieldy load of Persian wealth, he first set fire to the royal carriages, and then persuaded the rest to do the same to theirs, that they might move forward to the war, light and unencumbered. Whereas Perseus, though he and his children, and his kingdom, overflowed with wealth, would not purchase his preservation at the expense of a small part of it, but was carried a wealthy captive to Rome, and showed that people what immense sums he had saved and laid up for them.

Nay, he had not only deceived and sent away the Gauls, but also imposed upon Gentius king of the Illyrians, whom he prevailed with to join him, in consideration of a subsidy of 300 talents. He went so far as to order the money to be counted before that prince's envoys, and suffered them to put their seal upon it. Gentius, thinking his demands were answered, in violation of all the laws of honour and justice, seized and imprisoned the Roman ambassadors who were at his court. Perseus now concluded that there was no need of money to draw his ally into the war, since he had

¹ We agree with the editor of the former English translation, that the original here is extremely corrupted and very difficult to be restored and that it seems improbable that the Romans should have an army of 100,000 men in Macedonia. But the improbability lessens, if we consider that Paulus Æmilius applied on this occasion to the allies, especially the Achæans, for what forces they could spare, and if we take in those that acted on the Roman fleet. Æmilius, indeed,

just before the battle, expresses his apprehensions from the enemy's superiority of numbers; and it is true that he had none to depend upon but the Romans, who were comparatively few. As for his Grecian allies, he could not place much confidence in them, because it was their interest that the kingdom of Macedon should stand; and, in fact, when that fell, severe tribunals were set up in Greece, and the shadow of liberty, which remained to it, was lost.

unavoidably plunged himself into it, by an open instance of violence, and an act of hostility which would admit of no excuse, and therefore he defrauded the unhappy man of the 300 talents, and without the least concern beheld him, his wife, and children, in a short time after, dragged from their kingdom, by the prætor Lucius Anicus, who was sent at the head of an army against Gentius.

Æmilius, having to do with such an adversary as Perseus, despised, indeed, the man, yet could not but admire his preparations and his strength. For he had 4000 horse, and near 40,000 foot who composed the phalanx: and being encamped by the sea-side, at the foot of Mount Olympus, in a place that was perfectly inaccessible, and strengthened on every side with fortifications of wood, he lay free from all apprehensions, persuaded that he should wear out the consul by protracting the time and exhausting his treasures. But Æmilius, always vigilant and attentive, weighed every expedient and method of attack; and perceiving that the soldiers, through the want of discipline in time past, were impatient of delay, and ready to dictate to their general things impossible to be executed, he reproved them with great severity, ordering them not to intermeddle, or give attention to any thing but their own persons and their arms, that they might be in readiness to use their swords as became Romans, when their commander should give them an opportunity. He ordered also the sentinels to keep watch without their pikes,¹ that they might guard the better against sleep, when they were sensible they had nothing to defend themselves with against the enemy, who might attack them in the night.

But his men complained the most of want of water; for only a little, and that but indifferent, flowed, or rather came drop by drop, from some springs near the sea. In this extremity, Æmilius, seeing Mount Olympus before him, very high and covered with trees, conjectured, from their verdure, that there must be springs in it which would discharge themselves at the bottom, and therefore caused several pits and wells to be dug at the foot of it. These were soon filled with clear water, which ran into them with the greater force and rapidity, because it had been confined before.

Some, however, deny, that there are any hidden sources constantly provided with water in the places from which it flows; nor will they allow the discharge to be owing to the opening of a vein; but they will have it, that the water is formed instantaneously, from the condensation of vapours, and that by the coldness and pressure of the earth a moist vapour is rendered fluid. For, as the breasts of women are not, like vessels, stored with milk always ready to flow, but prepare and change the nutriment that is in

¹ Livy says, *without their shields*; the reason of which was this, the Roman shields being long, they might rest their heads upon them, and sleep standing. Æmilius, however, made one order in

favour of the soldiers upon guard; for he ordered them to be relieved at noon, whereas before they used to be upon duty all day.

them into milk ; so the cold and springy places of the ground have not a quantity of water hid within them, which, as from reservoirs always full, can be sufficient to supply large streams and rivers ; but by compressing and condensing the vapours and the air, they convert them into water. And such places being opened, afford that element freely, just as the breasts of women do milk from their being suckled, by compressing and liquefying the vapour ; whereas the earth that remains idle and undug cannot produce any water, because it wants that motion which alone is the true cause of it.

But those that teach this doctrine, give occasion to the sceptical to observe, that by a parity of reason there is no blood in animals, but that the wound produces it, by a change in the flesh and spirits, which that impression renders fluid. Besides, that doctrine is refuted by those who, digging deep in the earth to undermine some fortifications, or to search for metals, meet with deep rivers, not collected by little and little ; which would be the case, if they were produced at the instant the earth was opened, but rushing upon them at once in great abundance. And it often happens upon the breaking of a great rock, that a quantity of water issues out, which as suddenly ceases.

Æmilius sat still for some days, and it is said that there never were two great armies so near each other, that remained so quiet. But trying and considering everything, he got information that there was one way only left unguarded, which lay through Perrhæbia, by Pythium and Petra ; and conceiving greater hope from the defenceless condition of the place, than fear from its rugged and difficult appearance, he ordered the matter to be considered in council.

Scipio, surnamed Nasica, son-in-law to Scipio Africanus, who afterwards was a leading man in the senate, was the first that offered to head the troops in taking this circuit to come at the enemy. And after him, Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Æmilius, though he was yet but a youth, expressed his readiness to undertake the enterprise. Æmilius, delighted with this circumstance, gave them a detachment, not so large indeed as Polybius gives account of, but the number that Nasica mentions in a short letter wherein he describes this action to a certain king. They had 3000 Italians, who were not Romans, and 5000 men besides, who composed the left wing. To these Nasica added 120 horse, and 200 Thracians and Cretans intermixed, who were of the troops of Harpalus.

With this detachment he began to march towards the sea, and encamped at Heracleum,¹ as if he intended to sail round, and come upon the enemy's camp behind ; but when his soldiers had supped, and night came on, he explained to the officers his real design, and directed them to take a different route. Pursuing this, without loss of time, he arrived at Pythium, where he ordered his

¹ The consul gave out that they were to go on board the fleet, which, under the command of Octavius the prætor, lay

upon the coast, in order to waste the maritime parts of Macedonia, and so to draw Perseus from his camp.

men to take some rest. At this place Olympus is 10 furlongs and 96 feet in height, as it is signified in the inscription made by Xenagoras the son of Eumelus, the man that measured it. The geometricians, indeed, affirm, that there is no mountain in the world more than ten furlongs high, nor sea above that depth, yet it appears that Xenagoras did not take the height in a careless manner, but regularly, and with proper instruments.

Nasica passed the night there. Perseus, for his part, seeing Æmilius lie quiet in his camp, had not the least thought of the dangers that threatened him; but a Cretan deserter who slipped from Scipio by the way, came and informed him of the circuit the Romans were taking in order to surprise him. This news put him in great confusion, yet he did not remove his camp; he only sent 10,000 foreign mercenaries and 2000 Macedonians under Milo, with orders to possess themselves of the heights with all possible expedition. Polybius relates that the Romans fell upon them while they were asleep, but Nasica tells us there was a sharp and dangerous conflict for the heights; that he himself killed a Thracian mercenary who engaged him, by piercing him through the breast with his spear; and that the enemy being routed, and Milo put to a shameful flight without his arms, and in his under garment only, he pursued them without any sort of hazard, and led his party down into the plain. Perseus, terrified at this disaster, and disappointed in his hopes, decamped and retired. Yet he was under a necessity of stopping before Pydna, and risking a battle, if he did not choose to divide his army to garrison his towns,¹ and there expect the enemy, who, when once entered into his country, could not be driven out without great slaughter and bloodshed.

His friends represented to him, that his army was still superior in numbers, and that they would fight with great resolution in defence of their wives and children, and in sight of their king, who was a partner in their danger. Encouraged by this representation, he fixed his camp there; he prepared for battle, viewed the country, and assigned each officer his post, as intending to meet the Romans when they came off their march. The field where he encamped was fit for the *phalanx*, which required plain and even ground to act in; near it was a chain of little hills, proper for the light-armed to retreat to, and to wheel about from the attack: and through the middle ran the rivers Æson and Leucus, which, though not very deep, because it was the latter end of summer, were likely to give the Romans some trouble.

Æmilius having joined Nasica, marched in good order against the enemy. But when he saw the disposition and number of their forces, he was astonished, and stood still to consider what was proper to be done. Hereupon the young officers, eager for the

¹ His best friends advised him to garrison his strongest cities with his best troops, and to lengthen out the war, experience having shown that the Macedonians were better able to defend cities

than the Romans were to take them; but this opinion the king rejected from this cowardly principle, that perhaps the town he chose for his residence might be first besieged.

engagement, and particularly Nasica, flushed with his success at Mount Olympus, pressed up to him, and begged of him to lead them forward without delay. Æmilius only smiled and said, "My friend, if I was of your age, I should certainly do so : but the many victories I have gained have made me observe the errors of the vanquished, and forbid me to give battle immediately after a march to an army well drawn up, and every way prepared."

Then he ordered the foremost ranks, who were in sight of the enemy, to present a front, as if they were ready to engage, and the rear, in the meantime, to mark out a camp, and throw up entrenchments ; after which, he made the battalions wheel off by degrees, beginning with those next the soldiers at work, so that their disposition was insensibly changed, and his whole army encamped without noise.

When they had supped, and were thinking of nothing but going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and very high, began to be darkened, and after changing into various colours, was at last totally eclipsed.¹ The Romans, according to their custom, made a great noise by striking upon vessels of brass and held up lighted faggots and torches in the air, in order to recall her light ; but the Macedonians did no such thing ; horror and astonishment seized their whole camp, and a whisper passed among the multitude, that this appearance portended the fall of the king. As for Æmilius, he was not entirely unacquainted with this matter ; he had heard of the ecliptic inequalities which bring the moon, at certain periods, under the shadow of the earth, and darken her, till she has passed that quarter of obscurity, and receives light from the sun again. Nevertheless, as he was wont to ascribe most events to the Deity, was a religious observer of sacrifices and of the art of divination, he offered up to the moon eleven heifers, as soon as he saw her regain her former lustre. At break of day, he also sacrificed oxen to Hercules, to the number of twenty, without any auspicious sign ; but in the twenty-first the desired tokens appeared, and he announced victory to his troops, provided they stood upon the defensive.² At the same time he vowed a hecatomb and solemn games in honour of that god, and then commanded the officers to put the army in order of battle ; staying, however, till the sun should decline, and get round to the west, lest, if they came to action in the morning, it should dazzle the eyes of his

¹ Livy tells us, that Sulpitius Gallus, one of the Roman tribunes, foretold this eclipse : first to the consul and then with his leave to the army, whereby that terror which eclipses we are wont to breed in ignorant minds, was entirely taken off, and the soldiers more and more disposed to confide in officers of so great wisdom, and of such general knowledge.

² Here we see Æmilius availed himself of augury, to bring his troops the more readily to comply with what he knew was most prudent.—He was sensible of

their eagerness and impetuosity, but he was sensible at the same time that coolness and calm valour were more necessary to be exerted against the Macedonian phalanx, which was not inferior in courage and discipline to the Romans, and therefore he told them, that the gods enjoined them to stand upon the defensive, if they desired to be victorious. Another reason why Æmilius deferred the fight was, as Plutarch tells us, because the morning sun was full in the eyes of his soldiers.

soldiers ; he sat down in the meantime in his tent, which was open towards the field and the enemy's camp.

Some say, that towards evening he availed himself of an artifice, to make the enemy begin the fight. It seems he turned a horse loose without a bridle, and sent out some Romans to catch him, who were attacked while they were pursuing him, and so the engagement began. Others say, that the Thracians, commanded by one Alexander, attacked a Roman convoy, that 700 Ligurians making up to its assistance, a sharp skirmish ensued ; and that larger reinforcements being sent to both parties, at last the main bodies were engaged. Æmilius, like a wise pilot, foreseeing, by the agitation of both armies, the violence of the impending storm, came out of his tent, passed through the ranks, and encouraged his men. In the meantime, Nasica, who had rode up to the place where the skirmish began, saw the whole of the enemy's army advancing to the charge.

First of all marched the Thracians, whose very aspect struck the beholders with terror. They were men of a prodigious size ; their shields were white and glistening ; their vests were black, their legs armed with greaves : and as they moved, their long pikes, heavy-shod with iron, shook on their right shoulders. Next came the mercenaries, variously armed, according to the manner of their respective countries : with these were mixed the Pæonians. In the third place moved forward the battalions of Macedon, the flower of its youth and the bravest of its sons : their new purple vests and gilded arms, made a splendid appearance. As these took their posts, the *Chalchespides* moved out of the camp ; the fields gleamed with the polished steel and the brazen shields which they bore, and the mountains re-echoed to their cheers. In this order they advanced, and that with so much boldness and speed, that the first of their slain (the light-armed) fell only two furlongs from the Roman camp.

As soon as the attack was begun, Æmilius, advancing to the first ranks, found that the foremost of the Macedonians had struck the heads of their pikes into the shields of the Romans, so that it was impossible for his men to reach their adversaries with their swords. And when he saw the rest of the Macedonians take their bucklers from their shoulders, join them close together, and with one motion present their pikes against his legions, the strength of such a rampart, and the formidable appearance of such a front, struck him with terror and amazement. He never, indeed, saw a more dreadful spectacle, and he often mentioned afterwards the impression it made upon him. However, he took care to show a pleasant and cheerful countenance to his men, and even rode about without either helmet or breastplate. But the king of Macedon, as Polybius tells us, as soon as the engagement was begun, gave way to his fears, and withdrew into the town, under pretence of sacrificing to Hercules ; *a god that accepts not the timid offerings of cowards, nor favours any unjust vows*. And surely it is not just, that the man who never shoots, should bear away the prize ; that he who deserts

his post, should conquer ; that he who is despicably indolent, should be successful ; or that a bad man should be happy. But the god attended to the prayers of Æmilius ; for he begged for victory and success with his sword in his hand, and fought while he implored the Divine aid. Yet one Posidonius,¹ who says he lived in those times, and was present at that action, in the history of Perseus, which he wrote in several books, affirms, that it was not out of cowardice, nor under pretence of offering sacrifice that he quitted the field, but because, the day before the fight, he received a hurt on his leg, from the kick of a horse ; that when the battle came on, though very much indisposed, and dissuaded by his friends, he commanded one of his horses to be brought, mounted him, and charged, without a breastplate, at the head of the phalanx ; and that, amidst the shower of missive weapons of all kinds, he was struck with a javelin of iron, not indeed with the point, but it glanced in such a manner upon his left side, that it not only rent his clothes, but gave him a bruise in the flesh, the mark of which remained a long time.

The Romans, who engaged the phalanx, being unable to break it, Salius, a Peliguan officer, snatched the ensign of his company and threw it among the enemy. Hereupon, the Pelignians, rushing forward to recover it, for the Italians looked upon it as a great crime and disgrace to abandon their standard, a dreadful conflict and slaughter on both sides ensued. The Romans attempting to cut the pikes of the Macedonians asunder with their swords, to beat them back with their shields, or to put them by with their hands ; but the Macedonians, holding them steady with both hands, pierced their adversaries through their armour, for neither shield nor corslet was proof against the pike.² The Pelignians, and Marrucinians were thrown headlong down, who, without any sort of discretion, or rather with a brutal fury, had exposed themselves to wounds, and run upon certain death. The first line thus cut in pieces, those that were behind were forced to give back, and though they did not fly, yet they retreated towards Mount Olocrus. Æmilius seeing this, rent his clothes, as Posidonius tells us. He was reduced almost to despair, to find that part of his men had retired, and that the rest declined the combat with a phalanx which, by reason of the pikes that defended it on all sides like a rampart, appeared impenetrable and invincible. But as the unevenness of the ground and the large extent of the front would not permit their bucklers to be joined through the whole, he observed several interstices and openings in the Macedonian line ; as it happens in

¹ This could not be Posidonius of Apamea, who wrote a continuation of Polybius's history : for that Posidonius went to Rome during the consulship of Marcellus, 118 years after this battle. Plutarch, indeed, seems to have taken him either for a counterfeit, or a writer of no account, when he calls him *one* Posidonius, who tells us he lived at that time.

² This shows the advantage which the pike has over the broad-sword : and the bayonet is still better, because it gives the soldier the free use of his musket, without being encumbered with a pike, and when screwed to the musket, supplies the place of a pike.

great armies, according to the different efforts of the combatants, who in one part press forward, and in another are forced to give back. For this reason, he divided his troops, with all possible expedition, into platoons, which he ordered to throw themselves into the void spaces of the enemy's front; and so, not to engage with the whole at once, but to make many impressions at the same time in different parts. These orders being given by Æmilius to the officers, and by the officers to the soldiers, they immediately made their way between the pikes, wherever there was an opening,¹ which was no sooner done, than some took the enemy in flank where they were quite exposed, while others fetched a compass and attacked them in the rear; *thus was the phalanx soon broken, and its strength, which depended upon one united effort, was no more.* When they came to fight man with man, and party with party, the Macedonians had only short swords to strike the long shields of the Romans, that reached from head to foot, and slight bucklers to oppose to the Roman swords, which, by reason of their weight and the force with which they were managed, pierced through all their armour to the bodies; so that they maintained their ground with difficulty, and in the end were entirely routed.

It was here, however, that the greatest efforts were made on both sides; and here Marcus, the son of Cato, and son-in-law to Æmilius, after surprising acts of valour, unfortunately lost his sword. As he was a youth who had received all the advantages of education, and who owed to so illustrious a father extraordinary instances of virtue, he was persuaded that he had better die, than leave such a spoil in the hands of his enemies. He, therefore, flew through the ranks, and wherever he happened to see any of his friends or acquaintance, he told them his misfortune, and begged their assistance. A number of brave young men was thus collected, who, following their leader with equal ardour, soon traversed their own army, and fell upon the Macedonians. After a sharp conflict and dreadful carnage, the enemy was driven back, and the ground being left vacant, the Romans sought for the sword, which with much difficulty was found under a heap of arms and dead bodies. Transported with this success, they charged those that remained unbroken, with still greater eagerness and shouts of triumph. The 3000 Macedonians, who were all select men, kept their station, and maintained the fight, but at last were entirely cut off. The rest fled; and terrible was the slaughter of those. The field and the sides of the hills were covered with the dead, and the river Leucus, which the Romans crossed the day after the battle, was even then mixed with blood. For it is said that about 25,000 were killed on the Macedonian side; whereas the Romans, according to Posidonius, lost but 100; Nasica says, only fourscore.²

¹ On the first appearance of this, Perseus should have charged the Romans very briskly with his horse, and by that means have given his infantry time to recover themselves; but instead of this,

they basely provided for their own safety by a precipitate flight.

² Utterly impossible! if the circumstances of the fight are considered; but Livy's account is lost.

This great battle was soon decided, for it began at the ninth hour, (3 P.M.), and victory declared herself before the tenth. The remainder of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was continued for the space of 120 furlongs, so that it was far in the night when they returned. The servants went with torches to meet their masters, and conducted them with shouts of joy to their tents, which they had illuminated, and adorned with crowns of ivy and laurel.¹

But the general himself was overwhelmed with grief. For, of the two sons that served under him, the youngest whom he most loved, and who, of all the brothers, was most happily formed for virtue, was not to be found. He was naturally brave and ambitious of honour, and withal very young, (17 years), he concluded that his inexperience had engaged him too far in the hottest of the battle, and that he was certainly killed. The whole army was sensible of his sorrow and distress; and leaving their supper, they ran out with torches, some to the general's tent, and some out of the trenches to seek him among the first of the slain. A profound melancholy reigned in the camp, while the field resounded with the cries of those that called upon Scipio. For, so admirably had Nature tempered him, that he was very early marked out by the world, as a person beyond the rest of the youth, likely to excel in the arts both of war and of civil government.

It was now very late, and he was almost given up, when he returned from the pursuit, with two or three friends, covered with the fresh blood of the foe, like a generous young hound, carried too far by the charms of the chase. *This is that Scipio, who afterwards destroyed Carthage and Numantia, and was incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time.* Thus fortune did not choose at present to make Æmilius pay for the favour she did him, but deferred it to another opportunity; and therefore, he enjoyed this victory, with full satisfaction.

As for Perseus, he fled from Pydna to Pella, with his cavalry, which had suffered no loss. When the foot overtook them, they reproached them as cowards and traitors, pulled them off their horses, and wounded several of them; so that the king dreading the consequences of the tumult, turned his horse out of the common road, and lest he should be known, wrapped up his purple robe, and put it before him; he also took off his diadem, and carried it in his hand, and that he might converse the more conveniently with his friends, alighted from his horse and led him. But they all slunk away from him by degrees; one under pretence of tying his shoe, another of watering his horse, and a third of being thirsty himself: not that they were so much afraid of the enemy, as of the cruelty of Perseus, who, exasperated with his misfortunes,

¹ The laurel was sacred to Apollo, and the ivy to Bacchus. Bacchus, who is sometimes supposed to be the same with Hercules, was a warrior, and we read of his expedition into India. But the Roman custom of adorning the tents of the victors with ivy, the plant of Bacchus, might arise

from a more simple cause; Caesar, in his third book of the civil wars, says that in Pompey's camp he found the tent of Lentulus and some others covered with ivy; so sure had they made themselves of the victory.

sought to lay the blame of his miscarriage on anybody but himself. He entered Pella in the night, where he killed with his poniard Euctes and Eudæus, two of his treasurers; who, when they waited upon him, had found fault with some of his proceedings, and provoked him by an unseasonable liberty of admonition. Hereupon, everybody forsook him, except Evander the Cretan, Archedamus the Ætolian, and Neon the Bœotian, nor did any of his soldiers follow him, but the Cretans, who were not attached to his person but to his money, as bees are to the honeycomb. For he carried great treasure along with him, and suffered them to take out of it cups and bowls, and other vessels of gold and silver,¹ to the value of 50 talents. But when he came to Amphipolis, and from thence to Alepsus,² his fears a little abating, he sunk again into his old and inborn distemper of avarice: he lamented to his friends, that he had inadvertently given up to the Cretans some of the gold plate of Alexander the Great, and he applied to those that had it, and even begged of them with tears, to return it him for the value in money. Those that knew him well, easily discovered that he was *playing the Cretan with the Cretans*,³ but such as were prevailed upon to give up the plate, lost all; for he never paid the money. Thus he got 30 talents from his friends, which soon after were to come into the hands of his enemies, and with these he sailed to Samothrace, where he took refuge at the altar of Castor and Pollux.⁴

The Macedonians have always had the character of being lovers of their kings,⁵ but now, as if the chief bulwark of their constitution was broken down, and all were fallen with it, they submitted to Æmilius, and in two days he was master of all Macedonia. This seems to give some countenance to those who impute these events to fortune. A prodigy, which happened at Amphipolis, testified also the favour of the gods. *The consul was offering sacrifice there, and the sacred ceremonies were begun, when a flash of lightning fell upon the altar, and at once consumed and consecrated the victim.* But the share which fame had in this affair exceeds both that prodigy, and what they tell us of his good fortune. For, on the fourth day after Perseus was beaten at Pydna, as the people were at the equestrian games in Rome, a report was suddenly spread in the first seats of the theatre that Æmilius had gained a great battle

¹ He was afraid to give it them, lest the Macedonians out of spite should take all the rest.

² A manuscript copy has it Galepsus, probably upon the authority of Livy.

³ It was an ancient proverb, *The Cretan are always liars*. St. Paul has quoted it from Callimachus.

⁴ He carried with him 2,000 talents.

⁵ When Perseus was at Amphipolis, being afraid that the inhabitants would take him and deliver him up to the Romans, he came out with Philip, the only child he had with him, and having mounted the tribunal, began to speak; but his voice flowed so fast, that, after several trials, he found it impracticable to pro-

ceed. Descending again from the tribunal, he spoke to Evander, who then went up to supply his place, and began to speak; but the people, who hated him, refused to hear him, crying out, "Be gone, be gone; we are resolved not to expose ourselves, our wives, and our children, for your sakes. Fly, therefore, and leave us to make the best terms we can with the conquerors." Evander had been the principal actor in the assassination of Eumenes, and was afterwards despatched in Samothrace, by order of Perseus, who was afraid that Evander would accuse him as the author of that murder.

over Perseus, and overturned the kingdom of Macedon. The news was made public in a moment, the multitude clapped their hands and set up great acclamations, and it passed current that day in the city. Afterwards, when it appeared that it had no good foundation, the story dropped for the present ; but when a few days after it was confirmed beyond dispute,¹ they could not but admire the report which was its harbinger, and the fiction which turned to truth.

In like manner it is said that an account of the battle of the Italians near the river Sagara, was carried into Peloponnesus the same day it was fought ; and of the defeat of the Persians at Mycale, with equal expedition, to Platea : and that very soon after the battle which the Romans gained over the Tarquins and the people of Latium, that fought under their banners, two young men of uncommon size and beauty, who were conjectured to be Castor and Pollux, arrived at Rome, from the army, with the news of it. The first man they met with, by the fountain in the market-place, as they were refreshing their horses, that foamed with sweat, expressed his surprise at their account of the victory ; whereupon they are said to have smiled, and to have stroked his beard, which immediately turned from black to yellow. This circumstance gained credit to his report, and got him the surname of *Ænobarbus* or *Yellow Beard*.

All these stories are confirmed by that which happened in our times. For when Lucius Antonius rebelled against Domitian, Rome was much alarmed, and expected a bloody war in Germany, but on a sudden, and of their own proper motion, the people raised a report, and spread it over the city, that Antonius was vanquished and slain, that his army was cut in pieces, and not one man had escaped. Such a run had the news, and such was the credit given to it, that many of the magistrates offered sacrifice on the occasion. But when the author of it was sought after, they were referred from one to another, all their inquiries were eluded, and at last the news was lost in the immense crowd, as in a vast ocean. Thus the report, appearing to have no solid foundation, immediately vanished. But as Domitian was marching his forces to chastise the rebels, messengers and letters met him on the road, which brought an account of the victory. Then they found it was won the same day the report was propagated, though the field of battle was more than 20,000 furlongs from Rome. This is a fact which no one can be unacquainted with.

Cneius Octavius, who was joined in command with Æmilius, came with his fleet to Samothrace, where, out of reverence to the gods,² he permitted Perseus to enjoy the protection of the asylum,

¹ It was confirmed by the arrival of Q. Fabius Maximus, Æmilius, L. Lentulus, and Q. Metellus, who had been sent expressly by Æmilius, and reached Rome the twentieth day after the action.

² The gods of Samothrace were dreaded by all nations. The pagans carried their prejudices so far in favour of those pretended deities, that they were struck with awe upon the bare mention of their names. Of all the oaths that were in use

among the ancients, that by these gods was deemed the most sacred and inviolable. Such as were found not to have observed this oath were looked upon as the curse of mankind, and persons devoted to destruction. Diodorus (lib. v.) tells us that these gods were always present, and never failed to assist those that were initiated, and called upon them in any sudden and unexpected danger ; and that none ever duly performed their cere-

but watched the coasts and guarded against his escape. Perseus, however, found means privately to engage one Orandes, a Cretan, to take him and his treasure into his vessel, and carry them off. He, like a true Cretan, took in the treasure, and advised Perseus to come in the night, with his wife and children, and necessary attendants, to the port called Demetrium; but, before this, he had set sail. Miserable was the condition of Perseus, compelled as he was to escape through a narrow window, and to let himself down by the wall, with his wife and children, who had little experienced such fatigue and hardship; but still more pitiable were his groans when, as he wandered by the shore, one told him, that he had seen Orandes a good way off at sea. By this time it was day, and destitute of all other hope, he fled back to the wall. He was not, indeed, undiscovered, yet he reached the place of refuge, with his wife, before the Romans could take measures to prevent it. His children he put in the hands of Ion, who had been his favourite, but now was his betrayer; for he delivered them up to the Romans; and so by the strongest necessity with which nature can be bound, obliged him, as beasts do, when their young are taken, to yield himself to those who had his children in their power.

He had the greatest confidence in Nasica, and for him he inquired; but as he was not there, he bewailed his fate, and sensible of the necessity he lay under, he surrendered himself to Octavius. Then it appeared more plain than ever, that he laboured under a more despicable disease than avarice itself—I mean the fear of death; and this deprived him even of pity, the only consolation of which fortune does not rob the distressed. For when he desired to be conducted to Æmilius,¹ the consul rose from his seat, and, accompanied with his friends, went to receive him with tears in his eyes, as a great man unhappily fallen through the displeasure of the gods. But Perseus behaved in the vilest manner; he bowed down with his face to the earth, he embraced the Roman's knees; his expressions were so mean and his entreaties so abject, that Æmilius could not endure them: but regarding him with an eye of regret and indignation, "*Why dost thou, wretched man!*" said he, "*acquit fortune of what might seem her greatest crime, by a behaviour which makes it appear that thou deservest her frowns, and that thou art not only now, but hast been long unworthy the protection of that goddess? Why dost thou tarnish my laurels, and detract from my achievements, by showing thyself a mean adversary,*

monies without being amply rewarded for their piety. No wonder, then, if the places of refuge in this island were very highly revered. Besides the temple of Castor and Pollux, to which Perseus fled, there was also a wood, esteemed such, where those who were admitted to the holy rites of the Cabiri, used to meet.

¹ Octavia, as soon as he had the king in his power, put him on board the admiral galley, and having embarked also all his treasure that was left, the Roman

fleet weighed and stood for Amphipolis. An express was dispatched from thence to acquaint Æmilius with what had happened, who sent Tubero, his son-in-law, with several persons of distinction, to meet Perseus. The consul ordered sacrifices to be immediately offered, and made the same rejoicings as if a new victory had been obtained. The whole camp ran out to see the royal prisoner, who, covered with a mourning cloak, walked alone to the tent of Æmilius.

and unfit to cope with a Roman. Courage in the unfortunate is highly revered even by an enemy; and cowardice, though it meets with success, is held in great contempt among the Romans."

Notwithstanding this severe rebuke, he raised him up, gave him his hand, and delivered him into the custody of Tubero. Then taking his sons, his sons-in-law, and the principal officers, particularly the younger sort, back with him into his tent, he sat a long time silent, to the astonishment of the whole company. At last, he began to speak of the vicissitudes of fortune, and of human affairs. "Is it fit then," said he, "that a mortal should be elated by prosperity, and plume himself upon the overturning a city, or a kingdom? Should we not rather attend to the instructions of fortune, who, by such visible marks of her instability, and of the weakness of human power, teaches every one that goes to war, to expect from her nothing solid and permanent? what time for confidence can there be to man, when in the very instant of victory, he must necessarily dread the power of fortune, and the very joy of success must be mingled with anxiety, from a reflection on the course of unsparing fate, which humbles one man to-day, and to-morrow another? when one short hour has been sufficient to overthrow the house of Alexander, who arrived at such a pitch of glory, and extended his empire over great part of the world; when you see princes that were lately at the head of immense armies, receive their provisions for the day from the hands of their enemies; shall you dare to flatter yourselves that fortune has firmly settled your prosperity, or that it is proof against the attacks of time? shall you not rather, my young friends, quit this elation of heart, and the vain raptures of victory, and humble yourselves in the thought of what may happen hereafter, in the expectation that the gods will send some misfortune to counterbalance the present success?" Æmilius, they tell us, having said a great deal to this purpose, dismissed the young men, seasonably chastised with this grave discourse, and restrained in their natural inclination to arrogance.

He put his army in quarters, while he went to take a view of Greece. This progress was attended both with honour to himself, and advantage to the Greeks; for he redressed the people's grievances, he reformed their civil government, and gave them gratuities, to some wheat, and to others oil, out of the royal stores; in which such vast quantities are said to have been found, that the number of those that asked and received was too small to exhaust the whole. Finding a great square pedestal of white marble at Delphi, designed for a golden statue of Perseus, he ordered his own to be put upon it;¹ alleging, that it was but just, that the conquered should give place to the conqueror. *At Olympia, we are told, he uttered that celebrated saying, "This Jupiter of Phidias is the very Jupiter of Homer."*

¹ This was not quite so consistent with his humiliating discourse on the vicissitudes of fortune.

Upon the arrival of the ten commissioners¹ from Rome for settling the affairs of Macedonia, he declared the lands and cities of the Macedonians free, and ordered that they should be governed by their own laws; only reserving a tribute to the Romans of 100 talents, which was not half what their kings had imposed.

After this he exhibited various games and spectacles, offered sacrifices to the gods, and made great entertainments; for all which he found an abundant supply in the treasures of the king. And he showed so just a discernment in the ordering, the placing, and saluting of his guests, and in distinguishing what degree of civility was due to every man's rank and quality that the Greeks were amazed at his knowledge of matters of mere politeness, and that *amidst his great actions, even trifles did not escape his attention, but were conducted with the greatest decorum.* That which afforded him the highest satisfaction was, that notwithstanding the magnificence and variety of his preparations, he himself gave the greatest pleasure to those he entertained. And to those that expressed their admiration of his management on these occasions, he said, "That he required the same genius to draw up an army and to order an entertainment;" that the one might be most formidable to the enemy, and the other most agreeable to the company."

Among his other good qualities, his disinterestedness and magnanimity stood foremost in the esteem of the world. For he would not so much as look upon the immense quantity of silver and gold that was collected out of the royal palaces, but delivered it to the *questors* to be carried into the public treasury. He reserved only the books of the king's library for his sons, who were men of letters; and in distributing rewards to those who had distinguished themselves in the battle, he gave a silver cup of five pounds weight to his son-in-law Ælius Tubero. This is that Tubero who was one of the sixteen relations who lived together, and were all supported by one small farm; and this piece of plate, acquired by virtue and honour, is affirmed to be the first that was in the family of the Ælians; neither they nor their wives having, before this, either used or wanted any vessels of silver or gold.

After he had made every proper regulation,² taken his leave of the Greeks, and exhorted the Macedonians to remember the liberty which the Romans had bestowed on them,³ and to preserve

¹ These ten legates were all men of consular dignity, who came to assist Æmilius in settling a new form of government. The Macedonians were not much charmed with the promise of liberty, because they couldn't not well comprehend what that liberty was. They saw evident contradictions in the decree, which, though it spoke of leaving them under their own laws, imposed many new ones, and threatened more. What most disturbed them, was a division of their kingdom, whereby, as a nation, they were separated and disjointed from each other.

² To these two particulars, of drawing up an army, and ordering an entertainment, Henry the IVth of France added—the making love.

³ At the close of these proceedings, Andronicus the Ætolian, and Neo the Æmotian, because they had always been friends to Perseus, and had not deserted him even now, were condemned, and lost their heads. So unjust amidst all the specious appearances of justice were the conquerors.

⁴ This boasted favour of the Romans to the people of Macedonia, was certainly no-

it by good laws and the happiest harmony, he marched into Epirus. The senate had made a decree, that the soldiers who had fought under him against Perseus should have the spoil of the cities of Epirus. In order, therefore, that they might fall upon them unexpectedly, he sent for ten of the principal inhabitants of each city, and fixed a day for them to bring in whatever silver and gold could be found in their houses and temples. With each of these he sent a centurion and guard of soldiers, under pretence of searching for and receiving the precious metal, and as for this purpose only. But when the day came, they rushed upon all the inhabitants, and began to seize and plunder them. Thus in one hour 150,000 persons were made slaves, and seventy cities sacked. Yet from this general ruin and desolation, each soldier had no more than eleven drachmas to his share. How shocking was such a destruction for the sake of such advantage!

Æmilius, having executed this commission, so contrary to his mildness and humanity, went down to Oricum, where he embarked his forces, and passed over into Italy. He sailed up the Tiber in the king's galley, which had sixteen banks of oars, and was richly adorned with arms taken from the enemy, and with cloth of scarlet and purple; and the banks of the river being covered with multitudes that came to see the ship as it sailed slowly against the stream, the Romans in some measure anticipated his triumph.

But the soldiers, who looked with longing eyes on the wealth of Perseus, when they found their expectations disappointed, indulged a secret resentment, and were ill affected to Æmilius. In public they alleged another cause. They said he had behaved in command in a severe and imperious manner, and therefore they did not meet his wishes for a triumph. Servius Galba, who had served under Æmilius, as a tribune, and who had a personal enmity to him, observing this, pulled off the mask, and declared that no triumph ought to be allowed him. Having spread among the soldiery several calumnies against the general, and sharpened the resentment which they had already conceived, Galba requested another day of the tribunes of the people; because the remaining four hours, he said, were not sufficient for the intended impeachment. But as the tribunes ordered him to speak then, if he had anything to say, he began a long harangue full of injurious and false allegations, and spun it out to the end of the day. When it was dark, the tribunes dismissed the assembly. The soldiers, now more insolent than ever, thronged about Galba; and animating each other, before it was light took their stand in the Capitol, where the tribunes had ordered the assembly to be held.

thing extraordinary. Their country being now divided into four districts, it was declared unlawful for any person to intermarry, to carry on any trade, to buy or sell any lands to any one who was not an inhabitant of his own district. They were prohibited to import any salt; or to

sell any timber fit for building ships to the barbarian nations. All the nobility, and their children exceeding the age of fifteen, were commanded immediately to transport themselves into Italy: and the supreme power, in Macedonia, was vested in certain Roman senators.

As soon as day appeared, it was put to the vote, and the first tribe gave it against the triumph. When this was understood by the rest of the assembly and the senate, the commonalty expressed great concern at the injury done to Æmilius, but their words had no effect : the principal senators insisted that it was an insufferable attempt, and encouraged each other to repress the bold and licentious spirit of the soldiers, who would in time stick at no instance of injustice and violence,¹ if something was not done to prevent their depriving Paulus Æmilius of the honours of his victory. They pushed, therefore, through the crowd, and, coming up in a body, demanded that the tribunes would put a stop to the suffrages, until they had delivered what they had to say to the people. The poll being stopped accordingly, and silence made, Marcus Servilius, a man of consular dignity, who had killed three and twenty enemies in single combat, stood up, and spoke as follows :

"I am now sensible, more than ever, how great a general Paulus Æmilius is, when with so mutinous and disorderly an army he has performed such great and honourable achievements : but I am surprised at the inconsistency of the Roman people, if after rejoicing in triumphs over the Illyrians and Ligurians, they envy themselves the pleasure of seeing the king of Macedon brought alive, and all the glory of Alexander and Philip led captive by the Roman arms. For is it not a strange thing for you, who upon a slight rumour of the victory brought hither some time since, offered sacrifices, and made your requests to the gods, that you might soon see that account verified ; now the consul is returned with a real victory, to rob the gods of their due honour, and yourselves of the satisfaction, as if you were afraid to behold the greatness of the conquest, or were willing to spare the king? though indeed, it would be much better to refuse the triumph out of mercy to him, than envy to your general. But to such excess is your malignity arrived, that a man who never received a wound, a man shining in delicacy and fattened in the shade, dares discourse about the conduct of the war and the right to a triumph, to you who at the expense of so much blood have learned how to judge of the valour or misbehaviour of your commanders."

At the same time, baring his breast, he showed an incredible number of scars upon it, and then turning his back, he uncovered some parts which it is reckoned indecent to expose ; and addressing himself to Galba, he said, "Thou laughest at this ; but I glory in these marks before my fellow-citizens : for I got them by being on horseback day and night in their service. But go on to collect the votes ; I will attend the whole business, and mark those cowardly and ungrateful men, who had rather have their own inclinations indulged in war, than be properly commanded." This speech, they tell us, so humbled the soldiery, and effected such an alteration on them, that the triumph was voted to Æmilius by every tribe.

¹ This was sadly verified in the times of the Roman emperors.

The triumph is said to have been ordered after this manner. In every theatre, or as they call it, *circus*, where equestrian games used to be held, in the *forum*, and other parts of the city, which were convenient for seeing the procession, the people erected scaffolds, and on the day of the triumph were all dressed in white. The temples were set open, adorned with garlands, and smoking with incense. Many *lictors* and other officers compelled the disorderly crowd to make way, and opened a clear passage. The triumph took up three days. On the first, which was scarcely sufficient for the show, were exhibited the images, paintings, and colossal statues, taken from the enemy, and now carried in 250 chariots. Next day, the richest and most beautiful of the Macedonian arms were brought up in a great number of waggons. These glittering with newly furnished brass and polished steel; and though they were piled with art and judgment, yet seemed to be thrown together promiscuously; helmets being placed upon shields, breastplates upon greaves, Cretan targets, Thracian bucklers, and quivers of arrows huddled among the horses' bits, with the points of naked swords and long pikes appearing through on every side. All these arms were tied together with such a just liberty, that room was left for them to clatter as they were drawing along, and the clank of them was so harsh and terrible, that they were not seen without dread, though among the spoils of the conquered. After the carriages, loaded with arms, walked 3000 men, who carried the silver money in 750 vessels, each of which contained three talents, and was borne by four men. Others brought bowls, horns, goblets, and cups, all of silver, disposed in such order as would make the best show, and valuable not only for their size but the depth of the basso relievo. On the third day, early in the morning, first came up the trumpets, not with such airs as are used in a procession of solemn entry, but with such as the Romans sound when they animate their troops to the charge. These were followed by 120 fat oxen, *with their horns gilded, and set off with ribbons and garlands*. The young men that led these victims, were girded with belts of curious workmanship; and after them came the boys who carried the gold and silver vessels for the sacrifice. Next went the persons that carried the gold coin¹ in vessels which held three talents each, like those that contained the silver, and which were to the number of seventy-seven. Then followed those that bore the consecrated bowl,² of ten talents weight which Æmilius had caused to be made of gold, and adorned with precious stones; and those that exposed to view the cups of Antigonus of Seleucus, and such as were of the make of the famed artist, Sthericles, together with the gold plate that had been used at Perseus's table. Immediately after, was to be seen the chariot of

¹ According to Plutarch's account, there were 2,250 talents of silver coin, and 231 of gold coin. According to Valerius Antias it amounted to somewhat more; but Livy tells his computation too small, and Velleius Paterculus makes it almost twice as much. The account which Pu-

terculus gives of it is probably right, since the money now brought from Macedonia set the Romans free from all taxes for 125 years.

² This bowl weighed 600 pounds: for the talent weighed sixty pounds. It was consecrated to Jupiter.

that prince, with his armour upon it, and his diadem upon that, at a little distance his children were led captive, attended by a great number of governors, masters, and preceptors, all in tears, who stretched out their hands by way of supplication to the spectators, and taught the children to do the same. There were two sons and one daughter, all so young, that they were not much affected with the greatness of their misfortunes. This insensibility of theirs made the change of their condition more pitiable; insomuch that Perseus passed on almost without notice, so fixed were the eyes of the Romans upon the children from pity of their fate, that many of them shed tears, and none tasted the joy of the triumph without a mixture of pain, till they were gone by. Behind the children and their train walked Perseus himself, clad all in black, and wearing sandals of the fashion of his country. He had the appearance of a man that was overwhelmed with terror, and whose reason was almost staggered with the weight of his misfortunes. He was followed by a great number of friends and favourites, whose countenances were oppressed with sorrow, and who, by fixing their weeping eyes continually upon their prince, testified to the spectators, that it was his lot which they lamented, and that they were regardless of their own. He had sent, indeed, to Æmilius, to desire that he might be excused from being led in triumph, and being made a public spectacle. But Æmilius despising his cowardice and attachment to life, by way of derision, it seems, sent by word, "That it had been in his power to prevent it, and still was, if he were so disposed;" hinting, that he should prefer death to disgrace. But he had not the courage to strike the blow, and the vigour of his mind being destroyed by vain hopes, he became a part of his own spoils. Next were carried 400 coronets of gold, which the cities had sent Æmilius, along with their embassies, as compliments on his victory. Then came the consul himself, riding in a magnificent chariot; a man exclusive of the pomp of power, worthy to be seen and admired, but *his good men was now set off with a purple robe interwoven with gold, and he held a branch of laurel in his right hand.* The whole army likewise carried boughs of laurel, and, divided into bands and companies, followed the general's chariot: some singing satirical songs usual on such occasions, and some chanting odes of victory, and the glorious exploits of Æmilius, who was revered and admired by all, and whom no good man could envy.

But, perhaps, there is some superior Being, whose office it is to cast a shade upon any great and eminent prosperity, and so to mingle the lot of human life, that it may not be perfectly free from calamity; but those, as Homer says,¹ may think themselves most

¹ Plutarch here refers to a passage in the speech of Achilles to Hector in the last Iliad, which is thus translated by Pope:

Two urns by Jove's high throne have
ever stood,
The source of evil one, and one of good.

From thence the cup of mortal man he
fills,
Blessings to these, to those distributes
ills.
To most, he mingles both: the wretch
decreed,
To taste the bad unmixed, is cur'd ig-
-ned.

happy to whom fortune gives an equal share of good and evil. For Æmilius having four sons, two of which, namely, Scipio and Fabius, were adopted into other families, and two others by his second wife, as yet but young, whom he brought up in his own house; one of these died at fourteen years of age, five days before his father's triumph, and the other twelve, three days after. There was not a man among the Romans that did not sympathise with him in this affliction. All were shocked at the cruelty of fortune,¹ who scrupled not to introduce such deep distress into a house that was full of pleasure, of joy, and festal sacrifices, and to mix the songs of victory and triumph with the mournful dirges of death.

Æmilius, however, rightly considering that mankind have need of courage and fortitude, not only against swords and spears, but against every attack of fortune, so tempered and qualified the present emergencies, as to overbalance the evil by the good, and his private misfortunes by his public prosperity; that nothing might appear to lessen the importance, or tarnish the glory of the victory. For, soon after the burial of the first of his sons, he made his triumphal entry; and upon the death of the second soon after the triumph, he assembled the people of Rome, and made a speech to them, not like a man that wanted consolation himself, but like one that could alleviate the grief which his fellow citizens felt for his misfortunes.

"Though I have never," said he, "feared anything human, yet among things divine I have always had a dread of fortune, as the most faithless and variable of beings; and because in the course of this war she prospered every measure of mine, the rather did I expect that some tempest would follow so favourable a gale. For in one day I passed the Ionian from Brundisium to Corcyra: from thence in five days I reached Delphi, and sacrificed to Apollo. In five days more I took upon me the command of the army in Macedonia: and as soon as I had offered the usual sacrifices for purifying it, I proceeded to action, and in the space of fifteen days from that time put a glorious period to the war. Distrusting the fickle goddess on account of such a run of success, and now being secure and free from all danger with respect to the enemy, I was most apprehensive of a change of fortune in my passage home; having such a great and victorious army to conduct, together with

The happiest taste not happiness sincere,

But had the cordial draught dash'd with care.

Plato has censured it as an imploty to say that God gives evil. God is not the author of evil. Moral evil is the result of the abuse of free agency, natural evil is the consequence of the imperfection of matter: and the Deity stands justified in his creating beings liable to both because natural imperfection was necessary to a progressive existence, moral imperfection was necessary to virtue, and virtue was necessary to happiness. However, Ho-

mer's allegory seems borrowed from the eastern manner of speaking; Thus in the Psalms, *In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and he poureth out of the same; as for the dregs thereof, all the wicked of the earth shall drink them* Psal. lxxv. 8.

I Or more properly, the just and visible interposition of Providence, to punish in some measure that general havoc of the human species which the Roman pride and avarice had so recently made in Greece. For though God is not the author of evil it is no impeachment of his goodness to suppose that by particular punishments he chastise particular crimes.

the spoils and royal prisoners. Nay, when I arrived safe among my countrymen, and beheld the city full of joy, festivity, and gratitude, still I suspected fortune, knowing that she grants us no great favour without some mixture of uneasiness or tribute of pain. Thus full of anxious thoughts of what might happen to the commonwealth, my fears did not quit me, till this calamity visited my house, and *I had my two promising sons, the only heirs I had left myself, to bury one after another, on the very days sacred to triumph.* Now therefore, I am secure as to the greatest danger, and I trust and am fully persuaded that fortune will continue kind and constant to us, since she has taken sufficient usury for her favours of me and mine; for the man who led the triumph is as great an instance of the weakness of human power as he that was led captive: there is only this difference, that the sons of Perseus, who were vanquished, are alive; and those of Æmilius, who conquered are no more."

Such was the generous speech which Æmilius made to the people, from a spirit of magnanimity that was perfectly free from artifice.

Though he pitied the fate of Perseus, and was well inclined to serve him, yet all he could do for him, was to get him removed from the common prison to a cleaner apartment and better diet. In that confinement, according to most writers, he starved himself to death. But some say the manner of his death was very strange and peculiar. The soldiers, they tell us, who were his keepers, being on some account provoked at him, and determined to wreak their malice, when they could find no other means of doing it, kept him from sleep, taking turns to watch him, and using such extreme diligence to keep him from rest, that at last he was quite wearied out and died.¹ Two of his sons also died; and the third, named Alexander, is said to have been distinguished for his art in turning and other small work; and having perfectly learned to speak and write the Roman language, he was employed by the magistrates as a clerk,² in which capacity he showed himself very serviceable and ingenious.

Of the acts of Æmilius with regard to Macedonia, the most acceptable to the Romans was, that from thence he brought so much money into the public treasury, that the people had no occasion to pay any taxes till the time of Hirtius and Pansa, who were consuls in the first war between Antony and Cæsar. Æmilius had also the uncommon and peculiar happiness, to be highly honoured and caressed by the people, at the same time that he remained attached to the patrician party, and did nothing to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, but ever acted in concert with men of the first rank, in matters of government. This conduct of his was afterwards alleged by way of reproach against Scipio Africanus, by Appian. These two being then the most considerable men in Rome, stood for the cen-

¹ This account we have from Diodorus Siculus, *op. Phot. Biblioth.* Philip is said to have died before his father, but how or where cannot be collected, he was a the books of Livy, and of Diodorus Siculus, which treat of those times, are lost.

² Here was a remarkable instance of the

pride of the Roman senate, to have the son of a vanquished king for their clerk: while Nicomedes, the son of Prusias king of Bithynia, was educated by them with all imaginable pomp and splendour, because the father had put him under the care of the republic.

sorship ; the one having the senate and nobility on his side, for the Appian family were always in that interest, and the other not only great in himself, but ever greatly in favour with the people. When, therefore, Appius saw Scipio come into the *forum* attended by a crowd of mean persons, and many who had been slaves, but who were able to cabal, to influence the multitude, and to carry all before them, either by solicitation or clamour, he cried out, "O Paulus Æmilius ! groan, groan from beneath the earth, to think that Æmilius the crier and Lycinius the rioter conduct thy son to the censorship !" It is no wonder if the cause of Scipio was espoused by the people, since he was continually heaping favours upon them. But Æmilius, though he ranged himself on the side of the nobility, was as much beloved by the populace as the most insinuating of their demagogues. This appeared in their bestowing upon him, among other honours, that of the censorship, which is the most sacred of all offices, and which has great authority annexed to it, as in other respects, so particularly in the power of inquiring into the morals of the citizens. For the censors could expel from the senate any member that acted in a manner unworthy of his station, and enrol a man of character in that body ; and they could disgrace one of the equestrian order who behaved licentiously, by taking away his horse. They also took account of the value of each man's estate, and registered the number of the people. The number of citizens which Æmilius took, was 337,452. He declared Marcus Æmilius Lepidus first senator, who had already four times arrived at that dignity. He expelled only three senators who were men of no note ; and with equal moderation both he and his colleague Marcus Philippus behaved in examining into the conduct of the knights.

Having settled many important affairs while he bore this office, he fell into a distemper which at first appeared very dangerous, but in time became less threatening, though it still was troublesome and difficult to be cured. By the advice therefore of his physicians, he sailed to Velia,¹ where he remained a long time near the sea, in a very retired and quiet situation. In the meantime the Romans greatly regretted his absence, and by frequent exclamations in the theatres, testified their extreme desire to see him again. At last, a public sacrifice coming on, which necessarily required his attendance, Æmilius seeming now sufficiently recovered returned to Rome, and offered that sacrifice, with the assistance of the other priests, amidst a prodigious multitude of people, who expressed their joy for his return. Next day he sacrificed again to the gods for his recovery. Having finished these rites, he returned home and went to bed ; when he suddenly fell into a delirium, in which he died the third day, having attained to everything that is supposed to contribute to the happiness of man.

His funeral was conducted with wonderful solemnity ; the cordial regard of the public did honour to his virtue, by the best and happiest obsequies. These did not consist in the pomp of gold, of ivory,

¹ Plutarch here writes *Elea* instead of *Velia* and calls it a town in Italy, to dis-

tinguish it from one of that name in Greece.

or other expense and parade, but in esteem, in love, in veneration, expressed not only by his countrymen, but by his very enemies. For as many of the Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians¹ as happened to be then at Rome, and were young and robust, assisted in carrying his bier; while the aged followed it, calling Æmilius their benefactor, and the preserver of their countries. For he not only, at the time he conquered them, gained the character of humanity, but continued to do them services, and to take care of them, as if they had been his friends and relations.

The estate he left behind him scarcely amounted to the sum of 370,000 *denarii*, of which he appointed his sons joint-heirs: but Scipio, the younger son, who was adopted into the opulent house of Africanus, gave up his part to his brother. Such is the account we have of the life and character of Paulus Æmilius.²

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus presented you with the history of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them; and no less dreadful a scene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the sons of Tiberius Gracchus; who, though he was once honoured with the censorship, twice with the consulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived still greater dignity from his virtues.³ Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia, the daughter of that great man, though he had not been put upon any terms of friendship with him, but rather always at variance. It is said that he once caught a pair of serpents upon his bed, and that the sooth-sayers, after they had considered the prodigy, advised him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male serpent, they told him his death would be the consequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more suitable for him to die first, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and set the female at liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children.⁴

The care of the house and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia; and she behaved with such sobriety, so much

¹ These were some of the Macedonian nobility, who were then at Rome. Valerius Maximus says, it was like a second triumph to Æmilius, to have these persons assist in supporting his bier, which was adorned with representations of his conquest of their country. In fact, it was more honourable than the triumph he had led up, because this bore witness to his humanity, and the other only to his valour.

² A saying of his to his son Scipio is

worth mentioning: *A good general never gives battle, but when he is led to it, either by the last necessity, or by a very favourable occasion.*

³ Cicero in his first book *de Divinatione* passes the highest encomiums on his virtue and wisdom. He was grandson to Publius Sempornius.

⁴ Cicero relates this story in his first book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the son of Tiberius.

parental affection and greatness of mind, that Tiberius seemed not to have judged ill, in choosing to die for so valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addresses to her, and offered her a share in his throne, she refused him. During her widowhood, she lost all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two sons, Tiberius and Caius, whose lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with so much care, that though they were without dispute of the noblest family, and had the happiest genius and disposition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfection than nature.

As in the statues and pictures of Castor and Pollux, though there is a resemblance between the brothers, yet there is also a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *cestus*, and in the other whose province was horsemanship: so while these young men strongly resembled each other in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatness of mind, there appeared in their action and political conduct no small dissimilarity. It may not be amiss to explain the difference, before we proceed further.

In the first place, Tiberius had a mildness in his look; and a composure in his whole behaviour: Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that, when they spoke in public, Tiberius had a great modesty of action, and shifted not his place: whereas *Caius was the first of the Romans that, in addressing the people, moved from one end of the rostra to the other, and threw his gown off his shoulders. So it is related of Cleon of Athens that he was the first orator who threw back his robe and smote upon his thigh.* The oratory of Caius was strongly impassioned, and calculated to excite terror: that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raised.

The language of Tiberius was chaste and elaborate: that of Caius splendid and persuasive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal: Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and sober; but, in comparison with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Drusus objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables¹ of silver only, but very exquisite workmanship, at the rate of 1250 *drachmas*: a pound.

Their tempers were no less different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle: Caius, high spirited and uncontrolled; insomuch, that in speaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his passion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abusive expressions, and disorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard against these excesses he ordered his servant Licinius, who was a sensible man, to stand with a pitchpipe² behind him when he spoke in public, and whenever he found him straining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a softer key; upon

¹ These, we suppose, were a kind of tripods.

² Cleon, in his third book *de Oratore*.

calls this a small ivory pipe. *Æburncola fistula*.

which, his violence both of tone and passion immediately abated, and he was easily recalled to a propriety of address.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted against their enemies, in the justice they did their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magistrates, and in self-government with respect to pleasure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; consequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great disadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their success. Had they flourished together, and acted in concert, such an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irresistible. We must, therefore, speak of each separately; and we shall begin with the eldest.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained so extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the augurs rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is also a proof: Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the consulate and censorship; whose merit had raised him to the rank of president of the senate, and who in sense and spirit was superior to all the Romans of his time, supping one evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addressed himself to Tiberius with great kindness, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the proposal with pleasure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no sooner entered the house, than he called out aloud to his wife and said, "Antistia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antistia, much surprised, answered, "Why, so suddenly? What need of such haste, unless Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that some¹ tell the same story of Tiberius, the father of the Gracchi, and Scipio Africanus; but most historians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us that, after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference to all competitors; which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

Tiberius Gracchus served in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his sister; and, as he lived in the same tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of such actions as might animate a young man to virtue, and attract his imitation. With these advantages Tiberius soon excelled all of his age, both in point of discipline and valour. At a siege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the first that scaled the walls, as Fannius relates,² who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a share in the honour. In short, Tiberius, while he stayed with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

¹ Amongst these was Livy, lib. xxxviii. c. 27.

² This Fannius was author of a history

and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

After this expedition he was appointed quæstor, and it fell to his lot to attend the consul Caius Mancinus in the Numantian war.¹ Mancinus did not want courage; but he was one of the most unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet, amidst a train of severe accidents and desperate circumstances, Tiberius distinguished himself the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his respectful behaviour to his general, whose misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore. For, after having lost several important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night: the Numantians, perceiving this movement, seized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havoc of the rear. Not satisfied with this, they surrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there was no possibility of escape. Mancinus, now despairing of making his way sword in hand, sent a herald to beg a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would trust no man but Tiberius, and they insisted on his being sent to treat. This they did, not only out of regard to the young man who had so great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having subdued several nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which through his interest was confirmed at Rome, and observed with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly sent; and, in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with some articles, by which means he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly saved 20,000 Roman citizens, besides slaves and other retainers, to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the rest they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quæstorship. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magistrates of the place, he desired them to restore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuse him, when they saw he had lost the means of defending himself. The Numantians were much pleased that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumstance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earnestly entreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as such. Tiberius thought it best to comply, both for the sake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of distrust. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where the first thing they did was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him his books, and desired he would take whatever else he chose among the spoils. He accepted, however, of nothing but some

¹ He was consul with *Emilius Lepidus* in the year of Rome 618.

frankincense, to be used in the public sacrifices, and at his departure he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole business of the peace was considered in an obnoxious and dishonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the soldiers he had brought off, who made a very considerable part of the people, joined to support Tiberius; imputing all the disgrace of what was done to the general, and insisting that the quæstor had saved so many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could not suffer the peace to stand, and they demanded that, in this case, the example of their ancestors should be followed. For when their generals thought themselves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to such a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy.¹ The quæstors too, and the tribunes, and all that had a share in concluding the peace, they sent back in the same condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty and of the oath that should have confirmed it.

On this occasion the people showed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner; for they decreed that the consul should be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains; but that all the rest should be spared for the sake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and interest in Rome, seems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithstanding, for not saving Mancinus, nor using his best endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of these complaints, indeed, seems to have arisen from the ambition and excessive zeal of Tiberius's friends, and the sophists he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcilable enmity. Nay, I am persuaded, that Tiberius would never have fallen into those misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been at home, to assist him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propose his new laws. It was on this occasion:—

When the Romans in their wars made any acquisitions of lands from their neighbours, they used formerly to sell part, to add part to the public demesnes, and to distribute the rest among the necessitous citizens; only reserving a small rent to be paid into the treasury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man should be possessed of more than 500 acres of land. This statute for awhile restrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who, by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they scrupled not to claim them in

¹ This was about 183 years before. The generals sent back were the consuls Veturius Calvinus and Posthumus Albinus.

their own. The poor thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The consequence was, a want of freemen all over Italy, for it was filled with slaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were dispossessed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Laelius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this disorder; but finding a formidable opposition from persons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the sword, he gave it up. This gained him the name of Laelius the wise.¹ But Tiberius was no sooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the same enterprise. He was put upon it, according to most authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Blossius the philosopher; the former of whom was a Mitylenian exile, the latter a native of Cumæ in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarsus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to address some of his philosophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother *Cornelia, who used to reproach her sons, that she was still called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi*. Others say, Tiberius took this rash step from a jealousy of Spurius Posthumius, who was of the same age with him, and his rival in oratory. It seems, when he returned from the wars, he found Posthumius so much before him in point of reputation and interest with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook this hazardous affair, which so effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was passing through Tuscany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almost depopulated, there being scarce any husbandmen or shepherds, except slaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then first formed the project which plunged them into so many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his spirit of enterprise and ambition, by *putting up writings on the porticoes, walls and monuments, in which they begged of him to restore their share of the public lands to the poor*.

Yet he did not frame the law without consulting some of the Romans that were most distinguished for their virtue and authority. Among these were Crassus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scaevola the lawyer, who at that time was also consul, and Appius Claudius, father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made against so much injustice and oppression. For they who deserved to have been punished for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a consideration for giving up their groundless claims, and restoring the estates to such of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with so much tenderness, the people were satisfied: they were willing to overlook what was passed, on condition that they might guard against future usurpations.

¹ Plutarch seems here to have followed some mistaken authority. It was not this circumstance, but the abstemious-

ness of his life, that gave Laelius the name of wise.

On the other hand, persons of great property opposed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a spirit of resentment and malignity ; endeavouring to prejudice the people against the design, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian* law to throw all into disorder and subvert the constitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this just and glorious cause, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worse subject, and which nothing could resist. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the *rostrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in such language as this : *"The wild beasts of Italy have their caves to retire to; but the brave men who spill their blood in her cause have nothing left but air and light. Without houses, without any settled habitations, they wander from place to place with their wives and children; and their generals do but mock them, when, at the head of their armies, they exhort their men to fight for their sepulchres and domestic gods: for, among such numbers, perhaps there is not a Roman who has an altar that belonged to his ancestors, or a sepulchre in which their ashes rest. The private soldiers fight and die to advance the wealth and luxury of the great; and they are called masters of the world, while they have not a foot of ground in their possession."*

Such speeches as this, delivered by a man of such spirit, and flowing from a heart really interested in the cause, filled the people with an enthusiastic fury ; and none of his adversaries durst pretend to answer him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they addressed themselves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modest young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the task at first ; but upon a number of applications from men of the first rank, he was prevailed upon to oppose Tiberius, and prevent the passing of the law : *for the tribune's power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them stands out, the rest can effect nothing.*

Incensed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropped his moderate bill, and proposed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more severe against the usurpers. For by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this subject there were daily disputes between him and Octavius on the *rostra*; yet not one abusive or disparaging word is said to have escaped either of them in all the heat of speaking. Indeed, *an ingenious disposition and liberal education will prevent or restrain the sallies of passion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a superior nature.*

Tiberius, observing that Octavius was liable to suffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, desired him to give up his opposition, and offered, at the same time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As this proposal was not accepted, Tiberius forbade all other magistrates to exercise their functions, till the *Agrarian* law was passed. He likewise put his own seal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the *quæstors* might neither bring anything into the treasury

nor take anything out. And he threatened to fine such of the prætors as should attempt to disobey his command. This struck such a terror that all departments of government were at a stand. Persons of great property put themselves into mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumstances that they thought might excite compassion. Not satisfied with this, they conspired the death of Tiberius, and suborned assassins to destroy him : for which reason he appeared with a tuck, such as is used by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon*.¹

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was summoning the people to give their suffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting vessels,² which occasioned great confusion. Tiberius, however, seemed strong enough to carry his point by force, and his partisans were preparing to have recourse to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of consular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpose into execution. He now perceived how dreadful the consequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for those two great men had its effect upon him ; he therefore asked what they would have him do. They said, they were not capable of advising him in so important an affair, and earnestly entreated him to refer it to the senate. The senate assembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was such, that the debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a measure that was neither just nor moderate. He resolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneship, because there was no other means to get his law passed. He addressed him indeed in public first, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who asked nothing that was unjust, and would only receive a small recompense for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius absolutely refused to comply. Tiberius then declared, "That as it was not possible for two magistrates of equal authority, when they differed in such capital points, to go through the remainder of their office without coming to hostilities, he saw no other remedy but the deposing of them." He therefore desired Octavius to take the sense of the people first with respect to him ; assuring him that he would immediately return to a private station, if the suffrages of his fellow-citizens should order it so. As Octavius rejected this proposal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the question to the people concerning him, if upon farther consideration he did not alter his mind.

¹ We find this word used by Virgil.

Pila manu, sævæque gerunt in bella dolones. *Æn. vii. 664.*

The *dolon* was a staff that had a poniard concealed within it, and had its name from *dolus*, deceit.

² The original signifies an urn. The Romans had two sorts of vessels which

they used in balloting. The first were open vessels called *ciste*, or *cistellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were distributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *stidellæ*, and into these the people cast their ballots. The latter were the vessels which are here said to have been carried off.

Upon this he dismissed the assembly. Next day he convoked it again ; and when he had mounted the *rostra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he proposed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneship, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribes seventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them to stop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderness in the sight of the people, and with the most pressing instances besought him, neither to bring such a mark of infamy upon himself, nor expose him to the disreputation of being promoter of such severe and violent measures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is said to have listened to these entreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he stood a long time silent. But when he looked towards the persons of property, who were assembled in a body, shame and fear of losing himself in their opinion brought him back to his resolution to run all risks, and, with a noble firmness, he bade Tiberius do his pleasure. The bill, therefore, was passed ; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal ; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulsion made the case of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithstanding, fell upon him ; but by the assistance of those of the landed interest, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he escaped with his life. However, a faithful servant of his, who stood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much against the will of Tiberius, who no sooner saw the tumult rising, than he hastened down to appease it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commissioners appointed to take a survey of the lands, and see them properly distributed. Tiberius was one of the three ; his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, another ; and his brother, Caius Gracchus, the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius having carried these points without opposition, next filled up the vacant tribune's seat ; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. These proceedings exasperated the patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increase of his power, they took every opportunity to insult him in the senate. When he desired, for instance, what was nothing more than customary, a tent at the public charge, for his use in dividing the lands, they refused him one, though such things had been often granted on much less important occasions. And, at the motion of Publius Nasica, he had only nine *oboli* a day allowed for his expenses. Nasica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy, for he had a great estate in the public lands, and was of course unwilling to be stripped of it.

At the same time the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die suddenly, and malignant spots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poisoned. They assembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their

shoulders, and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their suspicions; for the corpse burst, and emitted such a quantity of corrupted humours, that it put out the fire. Though more fire was brought, still the wood would not burn till it was removed to another place; and it was with much difficulty at last that the body was consumed. Hence Tiberius took occasion to incense the commonalty still more against the other party. He put himself in mourning; he led his children into the forum, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people, as giving up his own life for lost.

About this time died Attalus¹ Philopater; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome by which it appeared, that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius, endeavouring to avail himself of this incident, immediately proposed a law, "That all the ready money the king had left should be distributed among the citizens, to enable them to provide working tools, and proceed in the cultivation of their newly assigned lands. As to the cities, too, in the territories of Attalus, the senate, he said, had not a right to dispose of them, but the people, and he would refer the business entirely to their judgment."

This embroiled him still more with the senate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, stood up and said, "He was next neighbour to Tiberius, and by that means had opportunity to know that Eudemus the Pergamenian had brought him a royal diadem and purple robe for his use when he was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus said another severe thing against him. "During the censorship of your father, whenever he returned home after supper,² the citizens put out their lights, that they might not appear to indulge themselves at unseasonable hours; but you, at a late hour, have some of the meanest and most audacious of the people about you with torches in their hands." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute disputant, and remarkable for the subtlety both of his questions and answers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in deposing one of his colleagues, whose person by the laws was sacred and inviolable. This proposition raised a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an assembly of the people, designing to accuse Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius appeared; and knowing himself greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourse to his old art, and begged leave only to ask him a question before the business came on. Tiberius consented, and silence being made, Annius said, "Would you fix a mark of disgrace and infamy upon me, if I should appeal to one of your colleagues? And if he came to my assistance, would you in your anger deprive him of his

¹ This was Attalus III. the son of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the last king of Pergamus. He was not, however, surnamed *Philopater*, but *Philometor*.

and so it stands in the MSS. of St. Germain.

² Probably from the public hall where he supped with his colleague.

office?" It is said, that this question so puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readiness of speech and propriety of assurance, he made no manner of answer.

He therefore dismissed the assembly for the present. He perceived, however, that the step he had taken in deposing a tribune had offended not only the patricians but the people too; for by such a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which till then had been preserved in great security and honour. In consequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a speech to them, from which it may not be amiss to give an extract, by way of specimen of the power and strength of his eloquence. "The person of a tribune, I acknowledge, is sacred and inviolable, because he is consecrated to the people, and takes their interests under his protection. But when he deserts those interests, and becomes an oppressor of the people, when he retrenches their privileges, and takes away their liberty of voting, by those acts he deprives himself, for he no longer keeps to the intention of his employment. Otherwise, if a tribune should demolish the capitol, and burn the docks and naval stores, his person could not be touched. A man who should do such things as those might still be a tribune, though a vile one; but he who diminishes the privileges of the people ceases to be a tribune of the people. Does it not shock you to think that a tribune should be able to imprison a consul, and the people not have it in their power to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he uses it against those who gave it? For the tribunes, as well as the consuls, are elected by the people. Kingly government seems to comprehend all authority in itself, and kings are consecrated with the most awful ceremonies; yet the citizens expelled Tarquin when his administration became iniquitous, and, for the offence of one man, the ancient government, under whose auspices Rome was erected, was entirely abolished. What is there in Rome so sacred and venerable as the vestal virgins who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any of them transgress the rules of her order, she is buried alive. For they who are guilty of impiety against the gods lose that sacred character which they had only for the sake of the gods. So a tribune who injures the people can be no longer sacred and inviolable on the people's account. He destroys that power in which alone his strength lay. If it is just for him to be invested with the tribunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not more just for him to be deposed by the suffrages of them all? What is more sacred and inviolable than the offerings in the temples of the gods? yet none pretends to hinder the people from making use of them, or removing them wherever they please. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not inviolable or unremoveable, appears from hence, that several have voluntarily laid it down, or been discharged at their own request." These were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being sensible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to destroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make interest to get the tribuneship continued to him

another year. For this purpose he thought of other laws, to secure the commonalty on his side ; that for shortening the time of military service, and that for granting an appeal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time consisted of senators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and senators, though, it must be confessed, that his taking every possible method to reduce the power of the patricians savoured more of obstinacy and resentment, than of a regard for justice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote whether these laws should be ratified, Tiberius and his party perceiving that their adversaries were the strongest (for all the people did not attend), spun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes, and at last he adjourned the assembly to the day following. In the meantime he entered the forum with all the ensigns of distress, and, with tears in his eyes, humbly applied to the citizens, assuring them, "He was afraid that his enemies would demolish his house, and take his life before the next morning." This affected them so much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At daybreak the person who had the care of the chickens which they use in augury, brought them and set meat before them ;¹ but they would none of them come out of their pen, except one, though the man shook it very much ; and that one would not eat, it only raised up its left wing, and stretched out its leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent ; two serpents that had crept into it privately laid their eggs and hatched in it. Such a bad presage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he set out for the Capitol as soon as he understood that the people were assembled there. But in going out of his house he stumbled upon the threshold, and struck it with so much violence that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he saw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a house, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a stone which one of the ravens threw down fell close to his foot. This staggered the boldest of his partizans. But Blossius of Cumæ,² one of his train, said, "It would be an insupportable disgrace, if Tiberius the son of Gracchus, grandson of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome should, for fear of a raven, disappoint that people when they called him to their assistance. His enemies, he assured him, would not be satisfied with laughing at this false step, they would represent him to the commons as already taking all the insolence of a tyrant upon him."

At the same time several messengers from his friends in the

¹ When the chickens ate greedily, they thought it a sign of good fortune.

² In the printed text it is Blossius ; but

one of the MSS. gives us Blossius, and all the translators have followed it.

Capitol came and desired him to make haste, for (they told him) everything went there according to his wish.

At first, indeed, there was a most promising appearance. When the assembly saw him at a distance, they expressed their joy in the loudest acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmost cordiality, and formed a circle about him to keep all strangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to business; but nothing could be done in the usual form, by reason of the disturbance made by the populace, who were still pressing forward. Meantime Fulvius¹ Flaccus, a senator, got upon an eminence, and, knowing he could not be heard, made a sign with his hand that he had something to say to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "That those of the landed interest had applied to the consul, while the senate was sitting, and, as they could not bring that magistrate into their views, they had resolved to despatch Tiberius themselves, and for that purpose had armed a number of their friends and slaves."

Tiberius no sooner communicated this intelligence to those about him, than they tucked up their gowns, seized the halberds with which the sergeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces to ward against any assault that might be made. Such as were at a distance, much surprised at this incident, asked what the reason might be; and Tiberius finding they could not bear him, touched his head with his hand, to signify the danger he was in. His adversaries, seeing this, ran to the senate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alleging that gesture as a proof of it.

This raised a great commotion. Nasica called upon the consul to defend the commonwealth, and destroy the tyrant. The consul mildly answered, "That he would not begin to use violence, nor would he put any citizen to death who was not legally condemned; but, if Tiberius should either persuade or force the people to decree anything contrary to the constitution, he would take care to annul it," upon which, Nasica started up, and said, "Since the consul gives up his country, let all who choose to support the laws follow me." So saying, he covered his head with the skirt of his robe, and then advanced to the Capitol. Those who followed him wrapped each his gown about his hand and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their superior quality, they met with no resistance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themselves seized the feet of the benches which the populace had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius, knocking down such as stood before him. These being killed or dispersed, Tiberius likewise fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under garment. He

¹ Not Flavius, as it is in the printed text.

happened, however, to stumble and fall upon some of the killed. As he was recovering himself, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and struck him on the head with the foot of a stool. The second blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himself upon it as a glorious exploit. Above 300 more lost their lives by clubs and stones, but not a man by the sword.

This is said to have been the first sedition in Rome, since the expulsion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was shed. All the rest, though neither small in themselves, nor about matters of little consequence, were appeased by mutual concessions; the senate giving up something, on one side, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of respect for the senate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromised matters in a much easier way; and certainly he might have been reduced without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above 3000 men about him. But it seems, the conspiracy was formed against him, rather to satisfy the resentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reasons they held out to the public. A strong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body. For notwithstanding the entreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpse, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcases. Nor was this all: they banished some of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they shut up in a cask with vipers and other serpents, and left him to perish in that cruel manner. As for Blossius of Cumæ, he was carried before the Consuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded. "What then," said Nasica, "if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the Capitol, wouldst thou have done it?" At first he turned it off, and said, "Tiberius would never have given him such an order." But when a number repeated the same question several times, he said, "In that case I should have thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never have laid such a command upon me, if it had not been for the advantage of the people of Rome." He escaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to Aristonicus,¹ in Asia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himself.

The senate, now desirous to reconcile the people to these acts of theirs, no longer opposed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commissioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the lands. In consequence of which, they chose Publius

¹ Aristonicus was a bastard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, attempted to get possession of it by arms, and made himself master of several towns. The Romans sent Crassus

the Consul against him the second year after the death of Tiberius. Crassus was defeated and taken by Aristonicus. The year following, Aristonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken prisoner by Perenna.

Crassus, a relation of the Gracchi ; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, says, it was not the daughter of Crassus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his conquests in Lusitania ; but most historians give it for the former.

Nevertheless, the people were still much concerned at the loss of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Nasica was now threatened with an impeachment. The senate, therefore, dreading the consequence, sent him into Asia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not suppress their resentment in the least : on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could suggest, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holiest and most awful temple in Rome, with the blood of a magistrate, whose person ought to have been sacred and inviolable.

For this reason Nasica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the principal sacrifices, for he was chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and after a while died at Pergamos. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had so unconquerable an aversion to Nasica, since Scipio Africanus himself, who seems to have been one of the greatest favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, because when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expressed himself in that verse of Homer—

So perish all that in such crimes engage ! †

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius asked him in an assembly of the people, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, and by his answer he gave them to understand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Even after this, the commons interrupted him when he spoke in public, though they had offered him no such affront before ; and, on the other hand, he scrupled not to treat them with very severe language.

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at first he left the forum and kept close in his own house ; like one who was either sensible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public business no more his object. Insomuch that some scrupled not to affirm that he disapproved and even detested his brother's administration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being so old as Tiberius by nine years ; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a short time it appeared that he

† In Minerva's speech to Jupiter. *Odyss. lib. 1.*

had an aversion, not only to idleness and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he considered them as the wings on which he must rise to the great offices of state. These circumstances showed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted so much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expression, and borne away with all the transports of enthusiasm. On this occasion he showed that other orators were no more than children in comparison. The nobility had all their former apprehensions renewed, and they began to take measures among themselves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Orestes,¹ the consul in Sardinia in capacity of questor. This gave his enemies great pleasure. Caius, however, was not uneasy on the event: for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Besides, he was under some apprehension about taking a share in the administration, or of appearing upon the *rostra*, and at the same time he knew that he could not resist the importunities of the people or his friends. For these reasons he thought himself happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more studious than Tiberius to make himself popular. But that is not the truth. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather necessity than choice that brought him upon the public stage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the state, and had taken a resolution to live quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addressed him, "Why lingerest thou, Caius? There is no alternative. The fates have decreed us both the same pursuit of life, and the same death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble specimen of every virtue, distinguishing himself greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations against the enemy, and in acts of justice to such as submitted, but in his respectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in simplicity of diet, and love of labour, he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a severe and sickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for the men. But they sent a deputation to Rome to solicit an exemption from this burden. The senate listened to their request, and ordered the general to take some other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the soldiers suffered much in the meantime, Caius applied to the towns in person, and prevailed with them to send the Romans a voluntary supply of clothing. News of this being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attempts at popularity, the senate were greatly disturbed at it.

¹ Lucius Aurelius Orestes was consul with Aemilius Lepidus in the year of

Rome 627. So that Caius went questor into Sardinia at the age of 27.

Another instance they gave of their jealousy was in the ill reception which the ambassadors of Micipsa found, who came to acquaint them, that the king their master, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had sent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambassadors were turned out of the house, and the senate proceeded to make a decree that the private men in Sardinia should be relieved, but that Orestes should remain, in order that he might keep his quæstor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him so far that he embarked, and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only censured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it singular that the quæstor should return before his general. An information was laid against him before the censors, and he obtained permission to speak for himself which he did so effectually that the whole court changed their opinions, and were persuaded that he was very much injured. For he told them, "He had served twelve campaigns, whereas he was not obliged to serve more than ten and that in capacity of quæstor, he had attended his general three years,¹ though the laws did not require him to do it more than one." He added, "That he was the only man who went out with a full purse, and returned with an empty one, while others, after having drank the wine they carried out, brought back the vessels filled with gold and silver."

After this, they brought other charges against him. They accused him of promoting disaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conspiracy of Fregellæ,² which was detected about that time. He cleared himself, however, of all suspicion, and having fully proved his innocence, offered himself to the people as a candidate for the tribuneship. The patricians united their forces to oppose him, but such a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to support his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and the *Campus Martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houses.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this instead of being returned first, as he had flattered himself he should be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he soon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly superior to the rest, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him an opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever subject he began upon, before he had done he led the people back to that idea, and at the same time put them in mind of the different behaviour of their ancestors. "Your forefathers," said he, "declared war against the Falisci, in order to revenge the cause of Genucius, one of the tri-

¹ Great part of this speech is preserved by Aulus Gellius but there Caius says he had been quæstor only two years. *Prætorium enim fuit in provincia* Aul. Gell. I. xli. c. 15.

² This place was destroyed by Lucius Optunus the prætor, in the year of Rome 629.

bunes, to whom that people had given scurrilous language ; and they thought capital punishment little enough for Caius Veturius, because he alone did not make way for a tribune who was passing through the forum. But you suffered Tiberius to be despatched with bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to be dragged from the Capitol through the middle of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, were put to death without form of trial. Yet, *by the custom of our country, if any person under a prosecution for a capital crime did not appear, an officer was sent to his door in the morning, to summon him by sound of trumpet, and the judges would never pass sentence before so public a citation.* So tender were our ancestors in any matter where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by such speeches as this (for his voice was strong enough to be heard by so great a multitude) he proposed two laws. One was, "That if the people deposed any magistrate, he should from that time be incapable of bearing any public office:" the other, "That if any magistrate should banish a citizen without a legal trial, the people should be authorised to take cognisance of that offence." The first of these laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneship ; and the second to Popilius, who, in his prætorship, had banished the friends of Tiberius. In consequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to stand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he said, his mother Cornelia, who interposed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly satisfied ; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a statue to her with this inscription :

CORNELIA THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are several extraordinary expressions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he said, "Darest thou pretend to reflect on Cornelia the mother of Tiberius?" And as that person had spent his youth in an infamous manner, he said, "With what front canst thou put thyself on a footing with Cornelia? Hast thou brought up children as she as done? Yet all Rome knows that she has lived longer than thou hast without any commerce with men." Such was the keenness of his language : and many expressions equally severe might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increase the authority of the people, and lessen that of the senate, one related to colonising, and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to serve till they were full seventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the same right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated,

and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than anything to retrench the power of the senate : for, before this, senators only were judges in all causes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equestrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred senators, and decreed that a judicial authority should be equally invested in the six hundred.¹ In offering this bill, he exerted himself greatly in all respects, but there was one thing very remarkable : whereas the orators before him, in all addresses to the people, stood with their faces towards the senate-house and the *comitium*, he then, for the first time, turned the other way, that is to say, towards the forum, and continued to speak in that position ever after. Thus by a small alteration in the posture of his body, he indicated something very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an aristocracy into a democratic form : for, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to address themselves to the people, and not to the senate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but empowered him to select the 300 out of the equestrian order for judges, he found himself in a manner possessed of sovereign power. Even the senate in their deliberations were willing to listen to his advice ; and he never gave them any that was not suitable to their dignity. That wise and moderate decree, for instance, was of his suggesting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *proprator* in Spain, sent from that country. Caius persuaded the senate to sell the corn, and send the money to the Spanish states ; and at the same time to censure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and insupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great respect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for sending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all these matters he was appointed supreme director, and yet was far from thinking so much business a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and despatched it with as much ease, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to ; insomuch that they who both hated and feared the man were struck with his amazing industry, and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to see him followed by such numbers of architects, artificers, ambassadors, magistrates, military men, and men of letters. These were all kindly received ; yet amidst his civilities he preserved a dignity, addressing each according to his capacity and station : by which he showed how unjust the censures of those people were who represented him as a violent and overbearing man.

¹ The authorities of all antiquity are against Plutarch in this article. Caius did not associate the knights and the senators in the judicial power, but vested that power in the knights only, and they

employed it till the consulship of Servilius Cæpio, for the space of sixteen or seventeen years. Valerius, Asconius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himself, sufficiently prove this.

For he had even a more popular manner in conversation and in business than in his addresses from the *rostrum*.

The work that he took most pains with was that of the public roads ; in which he paid a regard to beauty as well as use. They were drawn in a straight line through the country, and either paved with hewn stone, or made of a binding sand, brought thither for that purpose. When he met with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbish, or laid bridges over them ; so that being levelled and brought to a perfect parallel on both sides, they afforded a regular and elegant prospect through the whole. Besides, he divided all the road into miles, of near eight furlongs each, and set up pillars of stone to mark the divisions. He likewise erected other stones at proper distances on each side of the way, to assist travellers, who rode without servants, to mount their horses.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no instance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his speeches he told them, "There was one thing in particular which he should esteem as a greater favour than all the rest, if they indulged him in it, and if they denied it he would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the consulship ; and the commons expected that he would desire to be consul and tribune at the same time. When the day of election of consuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to see what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *Campus Martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvass. This greatly inclined the scale on Fannius's side, and he was immediately created consul. Caius too, without the least application, or even declaring himself a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the second time.

Finding, however, that the senate avowed their aversion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might secure the people in his interest. Such were those for sending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The senate now apprehending that his power would soon become entirely uncontrollable, took a new and unheard-of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in everything, however contrary to the true interests of the state.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus there was one named Livius Drusus ; a man who in birth and education was not behind any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greatest and most powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied ; exhorting him to set himself up against Caius, and join them in opposing him ; not in the way of force, or in anything that might offend the commons, but in directing all his measures to please them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuse at the hazard of their utmost resentment.

Drusus agreed to list in the service of the senate, and to apply all

the power of his office to their views. He therefore proposed laws which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His sole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleasing the multitude, and for this purpose he contended with him like a comedian upon a stage. Thus the senate plainly discovered, that it was not so much the measures of Caius, as the man, they were offended with, and that they were resolved to take every method to humble or destroy him. For when he procured a decree for sending out two colonies only, which were to consist of some of the most deserving citizens, they accused him of ingratiating himself by undue methods with the plebeians : but when Drusus sent out twelve, and selected 300 of the meanest of the people for each, they patronised the whole scheme. When Caius divided the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they should pay a small rent into the treasury, they inveighed against him as a flatterer of the populace ; but Drusus had their praise for discharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended ; Drusus, on the contrary, was supported by them in *a law for exempting the Latin soldiers from being flogged, though upon service, for any misdemeanour*. Meantime Drusus asserted, in all his speeches, that the senate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon proposing such advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manœuvres ; for by these arts the people became better affected to the senate. Before they had suspected and hated the leaders of that body ; but Drusus appeased their resentment, and removed their aversion, by assuring them, that the patricians were the first movers of all these popular laws.

What contributed most to satisfy the people as to the sincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions, was that Drusus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the least view to his own interest ; for he employed others as commissioners for planting the new colonies ; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himself : whereas Caius chose to preside in the greatest and most important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonising Carthage, which had been destroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commission, and in pursuance thereof he sailed to Africa. Drusus took advantage of his absence to gain more ground upon him, and to establish himself in the favour of the people. To lay an information against Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his assistant in the distribution of the lands. At the same time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the senate. Others, besides the patricians, suspected him of raising commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. These things, indeed, were said without evidence or proof ; but Fulvius himself gave strength to the report by his unpeaceable and unsalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his

share of the dislike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Besides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous sickness, and there appeared marks of violence upon his body, most people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abused him from the *rostrum*. Nor was Caius himself unsuspected. Yet so execrable a crime as this, committed against the first and greatest man in Rome, escaped with impunity; nay, it was not even inquired into: for the people prevented any cognisance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, lest upon a strict inquisition he should be found accessory to the murder.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the re-establishment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia*,¹ he was interrupted by several inauspicious omens. The staff of the first standard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and those of the ensign to hold it. Another storm of wind blew the sacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came and seized the marks themselves, and carried them to a great distance. Caius, however, brought everything under good regulations in the space of seventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he understood that Fulvius was hard pressed by Drusus, and affairs demanded his presence. For Lucius Opimius,² who was of the patrician party and very powerful in the senate, had lately been unsuccessful in his application for the consulship, through the opposition of Caius, and his support of Fannius; but now his interest was greatly strengthened, and it was thought he would be chosen the following year. It was expected too, that the consulship would enable him to ruin Caius, whose interest was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; because there were many besides Caius, who flattered them in all the measures of administration, and the senate saw them do it with pleasure.

At his return he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the forum. in which he had a view to popularity; for many of the meanest and indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this he proposed the rest of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the suffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the senate persuaded the consul Fannius to command all persons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this strange and unusual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic should remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote,

¹ *Quam Juno fertur terris magis
omnibus unam*

Posthabita colluisse samp. VIRGIL.

² In the printed text it is *Hortilius*, but it should be *Opimius*: for he was consul the year following with Q. Fabius

Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himself calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hortilius*, therefore, must be a false reading; and, indeed, one of the MSS. gives us *Opimius* here.

Caius, in his turn, published articles of impeachment against the consul, and at the same time declared he would protect the allies, if they would stay. He did not, however, perform his promise. On the contrary, he suffered the consul's lictors to take away a person before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hospitality, without giving him the least assistance, whether it was that he feared to show how much his strength was diminished, or whether (as he alleged) he did not choose to give his enemies occasion to have recourse to the sword, who only sought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues. The reason was this: there was a show of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the forum, and most of the magistrates had caused scaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to let them out for hire. Caius insisted that they should be taken down, that the poor might see the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited till the night preceding the show, and then went with his own workmen, and demolished the scaffolds. Next day the populace saw the place quite clear of them, and of course they admired him as a man of superior spirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and measures. This seems to have been the cause of his miscarriage in his application for a third tribuneship, for, it seems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are said to have procured a fraudulent and unjust return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of some doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his disappointment with patience; but when he saw his adversaries laugh, he told them with too much insolence, "Their laugh was of the Sardonic¹ kind, for they did not perceive how much their actions were eclipsed by his."

After Opimius was elected consul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and so annul his establishment at Carthage, on purpose to provoke him to some act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to destroy him. He bore this treatment for some time, but afterwards, at the instigation of his friends, and of Julius in particular, he began to raise an opposition once more against the consul. Some say, his mother on this occasion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken some strangers into pay, sent them into Rome in the disguise of reapers, and they asserted that these things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her son. But others say, Cornelia was much displeased at these measures.

When the day came on which Opimius was to get those laws repealed, both parties early in the morning posted themselves in the

¹ It was not easy to see the propriety of this expression as it is used here. The sardonic laugh was an involuntary distortion of the muscles of the mouth occasioned by a poisonous plant, and persons that died of this poison had a smile on their countenances. Hence it came to signify forced or affected laughter.

but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents should be called forced or sardonic because they did not perceive his superiority it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed, if every species of unreasonable laughing may be called sardonic, it will do still.

Capitol; and after the consul had sacrificed, Quintus Antullius, one of his lictors, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, said to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, ye factious citizens, and make way for honest men." Some add, that, along with this scurrilous language, he stretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expressed the utmost contempt. They immediately killed Antullius with long styles said to have been made for such a purpose.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people to revenge. But for the present they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the consul assembled the senate, and while he was addressing them within, others exposed the corpse of Antullius naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previously concerted, carried it through the forum to the senate house, making loud acclamations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce; but pretended to be much surprised. The senate went out, and planting themselves about the corpse, expressed their grief and indignation, as if some dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This scene, however, excited only hatred and detestation in the breasts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the Capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now, when Antullius, a vile sergeant, who possibly did not deserve quite so severe a punishment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himself—when such a hireling lay exposed in the forum, the senate of Rome stood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral; with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the house, they charge^d Opimius the consul, by a formal decree, to take every possible method for the preservation of the commonwealth, and the destruction of the tyrants. He, therefore, ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two servants well armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himself, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the forum, stood a long time looking upon his father's statue, and after having given vent to his sorrow in some sighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who saw this, were moved with compassion; and, declaring they should be the most dastardly of beings if they abandoned such a man to his enemies, repaired to his house to guard him, and passed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the same occasion. These passed their time in noise and riot, in carousing and empty threats; Fulvius himself being the first man that was intoxicated, and giving in to many expressions and actions

unsuitable to his years. But those about Caius were silent, as in a time of public calamity, and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took rest by turns.

Fulvius slept so sound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themselves with the Gallic spoils which he had brought off in his consulship, upon his conquering that people, and thus accoutred they sallied out, with loud menaces, to seize the Aventine hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon business in the forum, only he had a small dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herself at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her son with the other, she thus expressed herself—"You do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly, to go to the *rostra*, in capacity of tribune or lawgiver, nor do I send you out to a glorious war, where, if the common lot fall to your share, my distress might at least have the consolation of honour. You expose yourself to the murderers of Tiberius, unarmed, indeed, as a man should go, who had rather suffer than commit any violence, but it is throwing away your life without any advantage to the community. Faction reigns, outrage and the sword are the only measures of justice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, the truce would have restored us his body, but now perhaps I shall have to go a suppliant to some river or the sea, to be shown where your remains may be found. For what confidence can we have either in the laws or in the gods after the assassination of Tiberius?"

When Licinia had poured out these lamentations, Caius disengaged himself as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep silence. She caught at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time speechless. At last her servants, seeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Crassus.

Fulvius, when all the party was assembled, listened to the advice of Caius, and sent his younger son into the forum, equipped like an herald.¹ He was a youth of most engaging appearance, and he approached with great modesty, and tears in his eyes, to propose terms of accommodation to the consul and the senate. Many were disposed to hearken to the proposal, but Opimius said, "The criminals ought not to treat by heralds, but come in person to make their submission to the senate, and surrender themselves to justice, before they interceded for mercy." At the same time, he bade the young man return with an account that these conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they should go and endeavour to reconcile themselves to the senate. But as none of the rest acceded to that opinion, Fulvius sent his son again with propositions much the same. Opimius, who was in haste to begin hostilities, immedi-

¹ Literally, with a caduceus, or herald's wand on his hand.

ately took the young man into custody, and marched against Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adversaries much, and put them in such confusion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himself in an old neglected bath, where he was soon found and put to the sword, together with his eldest son. Caius was not seen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expressed the greatest uneasiness at their coming to such extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have despatched himself, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the most faithful of his friends, who took away his poniard, and persuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occasion he is said to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the deity of that temple, "That the people of Rome, for their ingratitude and base desertion of him, might be slaves for ever." Indeed, most of them, on promise of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy pursued Caius with great eagerness, and came up with him at the wooden bridge. His two friends bidding him go forward, planted themselves before it and suffered no man to pass till they were overpowered and slain. One of his servants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the best of his way, as they do a runner in the lists, but not one assisted him, or offered him a horse, though he desired it, for they saw the enemy now almost upon him.¹ He got, however, a little before them, into a grove sacred to the furies,² and there closed the scene. Philocrates first despatched him, and afterwards himself. Some, indeed, say, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the slave clung so close to his master that they could not come to the one till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told also, that after a person, whose name is not mentioned, had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimuleius,³ one of Opimius's friends, took it from him. For, at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimuleius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike. and when put in the scale, it was found to weigh seventeen pounds eight ounces. For Septimuleius had added fraud to his other villainies. he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Those who brought in the head of Fulvius, being persons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the rest of the slain, who were no fewer than 3000, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiscated and sold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The

¹ Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who stopped the pursuit of the enemy, Pomponius at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Lætorius, at the *Pons Sublucius*.

² This grove was called *Lucus Furiarum*, and was near the *Pons Sublucius*. The

goddess had a high priest called *Florens Furianus* and annual sacrifices. *Vero de Ling. l. v.*

³ Titiny and Valerius Maximus say, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus.

most savage cruelty was exercised upon the younger son of Fulvius, who had never borne arms against them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was imprisoned when he came with proposals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other instance of despotism, so sensibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in some sort to triumph in the destruction of so many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inscription on the temple :

Madness and Discord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the first consul who usurped the power of a dictator, and condemned 3000 citizens, without any form of justice, beside Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus : though one of them had been honoured with the consulship and a triumph, and the other, both in virtue and reputation, was superior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to suffer himself to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambassador to Jugurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe ; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the same time he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. *In a little time those commons showed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their statues in one of the most public parts of the city ; they consecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all first-fruits according to the season of the year. Nay, many offered daily sacrifices, and paid their devotions there as in the temples of the gods.*

Cornelia is reported to have borne all these misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have said of the consecrated places in particular, where her sons lost their lives, " That they were monuments worthy of them." She took up her residence at Misenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As she had many friends, her table was always open for the purposes of hospitality. Greeks and other men of letters she had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expressed their regard by sending her presents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herself very agreeable to her guests by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they most admired in her was, that she could speak of her sons without a sigh or a tear, and recount their actions and sufferings, as if she had been giving a narrative of some ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined that age and the greatness of her misfortunes had deprived her of her understanding and sensibility. But those who were of that opinion seem rather to have wanted understanding themselves, since they knew not how much a noble mind may, by a liberal education, be enabled to support itself against distress ; and that though in the pursuit of rectitude Fortune may often defeat the purposes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE, in bearing affliction, can never lose her prerogative.

CAIUS MARIUS.

WE know no third name of Caius Marius, any more than we do of Quintus Sertorius who held Spain so long, or of Lucius Mummius who took Corinth. For the surname of *Achaicus* Mummius gained by his conquest, as Scipio did that of *Africanus*, and Metellus that of *Macedonicus*—Posidonius avails himself chiefly of this argument to confute those who hold the third to be the Roman proper name, Camillus, for instance, Marcellus, Cato: for in that case, those who had only two names, would have had no proper name at all. But he did not consider that by this reasoning he robbed the women of their names; for no woman bears the first, which Posidonius supposed the proper name among the Romans. Of the other names, one was common to the whole family, as the Pompeii, Manlii, Corneli, in the same manner as with us, the Heraclidæ and Pelopidæ; and the other was a surname given them from something remarkable in their dispositions, their actions, or the form of their bodies, as Macrinus, Torquatus, Sylla, which are like Mnemon, Grypus, and Callinicus, among the Greeks. But the diversity of customs in this respect leaves much room for farther inquiry."

As to the figure of Marius, we have seen at Ravenna in Gaul his statue in marble, which perfectly expressed all that has been said of his sternness and austerity of behaviour. For being naturally robust and warlike, and more acquainted with the discipline of the camp than the city, he was fierce and untractable when in authority. It is said that he neither learned to read Greek, nor would make use of that language on any serious occasion, thinking it ridiculous to bestow time on learning the language of a conquered people. And when, after his second triumph, at the dedication of a temple, he exhibited shows to the people in the Grecian manner,

1 The Romans had usually three names, the *Prænomen*, the *Nomen*, and the *Cognomen*.

The *Prænomen*, as *Anius*, *Caius*, *Decimus*, was the proper or distinguishing name between brothers, during the time of the republic.

The *Nomen* was the family name answering to the Grecian patronymics. For, as among the Greeks, the posterity of *Æacus* were called *Æacidae*, so the Julian family had that name from *Julus* or *Ascanius*. But there were several other things which gave rise to the *Nomen*, as animals, places, and accidents; for instance, *Porcius*, *Urbilius*, &c.

The *Cognomen* was originally intended to distinguish the several branches of a family. It was assumed from no certain cause, but generally from some particular occurrence. It became, however, hereditary, except it happened to be changed

for a more honourable appellation, as *Macedonicus*, *Africanus*. But it should be well remarked, that under the emperors the *Cognomen* was often used as a proper name, and brothers were distinguished by it, as *Titus Flavius Vespasianus*, and *Titus Flavius Sabinus*.

As to women, they had anciently their *Prænomen* as well as the men, such as *Cælia*, *Lucia*, &c. But afterwards they seldom used any other besides the family name, as *Julia*, *Tullia*, and the like. Where there were two sisters in a house, the distinguishing appellations were major and minor: if a greater number, *Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, &c.

With respect to the men who had only two names, a family might be so mean as not to have gained the *Cognomen*; or there might be so few of the family, that there was no occasion for it to distinguish the branches.

he barely entered the theatre and sat down, and then rose up and departed immediately. Therefore, as Plato used to say to Xenocrates the philosopher, who had a morose and unpolished manner, "Good Xenocrates, sacrifice to the Graces;" so if any one could have persuaded Marius to pay his court to the Grecian Muses and Graces, he had never brought his noble achievements, both in war and peace, to so shocking a conclusion; he had never been led, by unseasonable ambition and insatiable avarice, to split upon the rocks of a savage and cruel old age.

His parents were obscure and indigent people, who supported themselves by labour; his father's name was the same with his; his mother was called Fulcinia. It was late before he came to Rome, or had any taste of the refinements of the city. In the mean time he lived at Cirræatum¹ a village in the territory of Arpinum; and his manner of living there was perfectly rustic, if compared with the elegance of polished life; but at the same time it was temperate, and much resembled that of the ancient Romans.

He made his first campaign against the Celtiberians,² when Scipio Africanus besieged Numantia. It did not escape his general how far he was above the other young soldiers in courage; nor how easily he came into the reformation in point of diet, which Scipio introduced into the army, before almost ruined by luxury and pleasure. It is said also, that he encountered and killed an enemy in the sight of his general; who therefore distinguished him with many marks of honour and respect, one of which was the inviting him to his table. One evening the conversation happened to turn upon the great commanders then in being, some person in the company, either out of complaisance to Scipio, or because he really wanted to be informed, asked, "Where the Romans should find such another general when he was gone?" upon which Scipio, putting his hand on the shoulder of Marius, who sat next him, said, "Here, perhaps." So happy was the genius of both those great men, that the one, while but a youth, gave tokens of his future abilities, and the other from those beginnings could discover the long series of glory which was to follow.

This saying of Scipio's, we are told, raised the hopes of Marius, like a divine oracle, and was the chief thing that animated him to apply himself to affairs of state. By the assistance of Cæcilius Metellus, on whose house he had an hereditary dependence, he was (117 B.C.) chosen a tribune of the people. In this office he proposed a law for regulating the manner of voting, which tended to lessen the authority of the patricians in matters of judicature. Cotta the consul, therefore, persuaded the senate to reject it and to cite Marius to give account of his conduct. Such a decree being made, Marius, when he entered the senate, showed not the embar-

¹ A corruption of *Cernetum*. Pliny tells us the inhabitants of *Cernetum* were called *Marianti*, undoubtedly from Marius their townsman, who had distinguished

himself in so extraordinary a manner. *PLIN. LIB. III. c. 6.*

² In the third year of Olympiad 161, 183 A.D.

rassment of a young man advanced to office without having first distinguished himself, but assuming beforehand the elevation which his future actions were to give him, he threatened to send Cotta to prison, if he did not revoke the decree. Cotta turning to Metellus, and asking his opinion, Metellus rose up and voted with the consul.—Hereupon Marius called in a lictor, and ordered him to take Metellus into custody. Metellus appealed to the other tribunes, but as not one of them lent him any assistance, the senate gave way, and repealed their decree. Marius, highly distinguished by this victory, went immediately from the senate to the forum, and had his law confirmed by the people.

From this time he passed for a man of inflexible resolution, not to be influenced by fear or respect of persons, and consequently one that would prove a bold defender of the people's privileges against the senate. But this opinion was soon altered by his taking quite a different part.—For a law being proposed concerning the distribution of corn, he strenuously opposed the plebeians, and carried it against them. By which action he gained equal esteem from both parties, as a person incapable of serving either, against the public advantage.

When his tribuneship was expired, he stood candidate for the office of chief ædile. For there are two offices of ædiles; the one called *curulis*, from the chair with crooked feet, in which the magistrate sits while he despatches business; the other of a degree much inferior is called the *plebeian ædile*. The more honourable ædiles are first chosen, and then the people proceed the same day to the election of the other. When Marius found he could not carry the first, he dropped his pretensions there, and immediately applied for the second. But as this proceeding of his betrayed a disagreeable and importunate obstinacy, he miscarried in that also. Yet though he was twice baffled in his application in one day (which never happened to any man but himself,) he was not at all discouraged. For, not long after, he stood for the prætorship, and was near being rejected again. He was, indeed, returned last of all, and then was accused of bribery. What contributed most to the suspicion, was, a servant of Cassius Sabaco being seen between the rails, among the electors; for Sabaco was an intimate friend of Marius. He was summoned, therefore, by the judges; and being interrogated upon the point, he said, "That the heat having made him very thirsty, he asked for cold water; upon which his servant brought him a cup, and withdrew as soon as he had drank." Sabaco was expelled the senate by the next censors,¹ and it was thought he deserved that mark of infamy, as having been guilty either of falsehood or intemperance. Caius Herennius was also cited as a witness against Marius; but he alleged, that it was not customary for patrons (so the Romans call protectors) to give evidence against their clients, and that the law excused them from that obligation. The judges were going to admit the plea, when Marius himself opposed

¹ Probably he had one of his slaves to vote among the freemen.

it, and told Herennius, that when he was first created a magistrate, he ceased to be his client. But this was not altogether true. *I or it is not every office that frees clients and their posterity from the service due to their patrons, but only those magistracies to which the law gives a *cursus honorum*.* Marius, however, during the first days of trial, found that matters ran against him, his judges being very unfavourable; yet, at last, the votes proved equal, and he was acquitted beyond expectation.

In his pretorship he did nothing to raise him to distinction. But, at the expiration of this office, the farther Spain falling to his lot, he is said to have cleared it of robbers. That province as yet was uncivilised and savage in its manners, and the Spaniards thought there was nothing dishonourable in robbery. At his return to Rome, he was desirous to have his share in the administration, but had neither riches nor eloquence to recommend him, though these were the instruments by which the great men of those times governed the people. His high spirit, however, his indefatigable industry, and plain manner of living, recommended him so effectually to the commonalty, that he gained offices, and by offices power, so that he was thought worthy the alliance of the Cæsars, and married Julia of that illustrious family. Cæsar, who afterwards raised himself to such eminence, was her nephew, and on account of his relation to Marius, showed himself very solicitous for his honour.

Marius, along with his temperance, was possessed of great fortitude in enduring pain. There was an extraordinary proof of this, in his bearing an operation in surgery. Having both his legs full of wens, and being troubled at the deformity, he determined to put himself in the hands of a surgeon. He would not be bound, but stretched out one of his legs to the knife, and without motion or groan, bore the inexpressible pain of the operation in silence and with a settled countenance. But when the surgeon was going to begin with the other leg, he would not suffer him, saying, "I see the cure is not worth the pain."

About this time Cæcilius Metellus the consul,¹ being appointed to the chief command in the war against Jugurtha, took Marius with him into Africa as one of his lieutenants. Marius, now finding an opportunity for great actions and glorious toils, took no care, like his colleagues, to contribute to the reputation of Metellus, or to direct his views to his service, but concluding that he was called to the lieutenancy, not by Metellus but by Fortune, who had opened him an easy way and a noble theatre for great achievements, exerted all his powers. That war presenting many critical occasions, he neither declined the most difficult service, nor thought the most servile beneath him. Thus surpassing his equals in prudence and foresight, and contesting it with the common soldiers in abstinence and labour, he entirely gained their affections. For it is

¹ Q. Cæcilius Metellus was consul with M. Junius Bruttus the fourth year of Olympiad 167, a. c. 107. In this expedi-

tion he acquired the surname of Numidicus.

no small consolation to any one who is obliged to work, to see another voluntarily take a share in his labour; since it seems to take off the constraint. *There is not, indeed, a more agreeable spectacle to a Roman soldier, than that of his general eating the same dry bread which he eats, or lying on an ordinary bed, or assisng his men in drawing a trench or throwing up a bulwark.* For the soldier does not so much admire those officers who let him share in their honour or their money, as those who will partake with him in labour or danger; and he is more attached to one that will assist him in his work, than to one who will indulge him in idleness.

By these steps Marius gained the hearts of the soldiers; his glory, his influence, his reputation, spread through Africa, and extended even to Rome: the men under his command wrote to their friends at home, that the only means of putting an end to the war in those parts, would be to elect Marius consul. This occasioned no small anxiety to Metellus, but what distressed him most was the affair of Turpilius. This man and his family had long been retainers to that of Metellus, and he attended him in that war in the character of master of the artificers, but being, through his interest, appointed governor of the large town of Vacca, his humanity to the inhabitants, and the unsuspecting openness of his conduct, gave them an opportunity of delivering up the place to Jugurtha.¹ Turpilius, however, suffered no injury in his person; for the inhabitants, having prevailed upon Jugurtha to spare him, dismissed him in safety. On this account he was accused of betraying the place. Marius, who was one of the council of war, was not only severe upon himself, but stirred up most of the other judges; so that it was carried against the opinion of Metellus, and much against his will he passed sentence of death upon him. A little after, the accusation appeared a false one; and all the other officers sympathised with Metellus, who was overwhelmed with sorrow, while Marius, far from dissembling his joy, declared the thing was his doing, and was not ashamed to acknowledge in all companies, "That he had lodged an avenging fury in the breast of Metellus, who would not fail to punish him for having put to death the hereditary friend of his family."

They now became open enemies; and one day when Marius was by, we are told, that Metellus said, by way of insult, "You think then, my good friend, to leave us, and go home, to solicit the consulship: would you not be contented to stay and be consul with this son of mine?" The son of Metellus was then very young. Notwithstanding this, Marius still kept applying for leave to be gone, and Metellus found out new pretences for delay. At last, when there wanted only twelve days to the election, he dismissed him. Marius had a long journey from the camp to Utica, but he despatched it in two days and a night. At his arrival on the coast he offered sacrifice before he embarked; and the diviner is said to have told him, "That Heaven announces success superior to all his

¹ They put the Roman garrison to the sword.

hopes." Elevated with this promise, he set sail and having a fair wind, crossed the sea in four days. The people immediately expressed their inclination for him, and being introduced by one of their tribunes, he brought many false charges against Metellus, in order to secure the consulship for himself, promising at the same time either to kill Jugurtha or to take him alive.

He was elected with great applause, and immediately began his levies, in which he observed neither law nor custom, for he enlisted many needy persons, and even slaves¹. The generals that were before him had not admitted such as these, but entrusted only persons of property with arms as with other honours, considering that property as a pledge to the public for their behaviour. Nor was this the only obnoxious thing in Marius. His bold speeches, accompanied with insolence and ill manners, gave the patricians great uneasiness. For he scrupled not to say, "That he had taken the consulate as a prey from the effeminacy of the high born and the rich, and that he boasted to the people of his own wounds, not the images of others or monuments of the dead." He took frequent occasion, too, to mention Bestia and Albinus, generals who had been mostly unfortunate in Africa, as men of illustrious families, but unfit for war, and consequently unsuccessful through want of capacity. Then he would ask the people, "Whether they did not think that the ancestors of those men would have wished rather to leave a posterity like him, since they themselves did not rise to glory by their high birth, but by their virtue and great actions." These things he said not out of mere vanity and arrogance or needlessly to embroil himself with the nobility, but he saw the people took pleasure in seeing the senate insulted, and they measured the greatness of a man's mind by the insolence of his language, and therefore, to gratify them, he spared not the greatest men in the state.

Upon his arrival in Africa, Metellus was quite overcome with grief and resentment, to think that when he had in a manner finished the war, and there remained nothing to take but the person of Jugurtha, Marius, who had raised himself merely by his ingratitude towards *him*, should come to snatch away both his victory and triumph. Unable, therefore, to bear the sight of him, he retired, and left his lieutenant Rutilius to deliver up the forces to Marius, but before the end of the war the divine vengeance overtook Marius. For Sylla robbed him of the glory of his exploits, as he had done Metellus. I shall briefly relate here the manner of that transaction.

Bocchus, king of the upper Numidia, was father-in-law to Jugurtha. He gave him, however, very little assistance in the war, pretending that he detested his perfidiousness, while he really dreaded the increase of his power. But when he became a fugitive and a wanderer, and was reduced to the necessity of applying to Bocchus

¹ Florus does not say he enlisted slaves but *capite censos*, such as having no estates had only their names entered in the registers.

as his last resource, that prince received him rather as a suppliant than as his son-in-law. When he had him in his hands he proceeded in public to intercede with Marius in his behalf, alleging in his letters, that he would never give him up, but defend him to the last. At the same time in private intending to betray him, he sent for Lucius Sylla, who was quæstor to Marius, and had done Bocchus many services during the war. When Sylla was come to him, confiding in his honour, the barbarian began to repent, and often changed his mind, deliberating for some days whether he should deliver up Jugurtha, or retain Sylla too. At last, adhering to the treachery he had first conceived, he put Jugurtha, alive, into the hands of Sylla.

Hence the first seeds of that violent and implacable quarrel, which almost ruined the Roman empire. For many, out of envy to Marius, were willing to attribute this success to Sylla only; and Sylla himself caused a seal to be made, which represented Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha to him. This seal he always wore, and constantly sealed his letters with it; by which he highly provoked Marius, who was naturally ambitious, and could not endure a rival in glory. Sylla was instigated to this by the enemies of Marius, who ascribed the beginning and the most considerable actions of the war to Metellus, and the last and finishing stroke to Sylla: that so the people might no longer admire and remain attached to Marius as the most accomplished of commanders.

The danger, however, that approached Italy from the west, soon dispersed all the envy, the hatred, and the calumnies, which had been raised against Marius. The people now in want of an experienced commander, and searching for an able pilot to sit at the helm, that the commonwealth might bear up against so dreadful a storm, found that no one of an opulent or noble family would stand for the consulship; and therefore (102 B.C.) elected Marius, though absent. They had no sooner received the news that Jugurtha was taken, than reports were spread of an invasion from the Teutones and the Cimbri. And though the account of the number and strength of their armies seemed at first incredible, it afterwards appeared short of the truth. For 3000 well-armed warriors were upon the march, and the women and children, whom they had along with them, were said to be much more numerous. This vast multitude wanted lands on which they might subsist, and cities wherein to settle; as they had heard the Celts, before them, had expelled the Tuscans, and possessed themselves of the best part of Italy.¹ As for these, who now hovered like a cloud over Gaul and Italy, it was not known who they were,² or whence they came, on account of the small com-

¹ In the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

² The Cimbri were descended from the ancient Gomerians or Celtes: Cimbri or Cymbri being only a harsher pronunciation of Gomeri. They were in all probability the most ancient people of Germany. They gave their name to the Cimbric Chersonesus, which was a kind of peninsula extending from the mouth of

the river Elbe into the north sea. They were all supposed the same with the Cimmericians that inhabited the countries about the Palus Neotie: which is highly probable, both from the likeness of their names, and from the descendants of Gomer having spread themselves over all that northern tract.

merce which they had with the rest of the world, and the length of way they had marched. It was conjectured, indeed, from the largeness of their stature, and the blueness of their eyes, as well as because the Germans call banditti *cimbri*, that they were some of those German nations who dwell by the Northern Sea.

Some assert, that the country of the Celta is of such vast extent, that it stretches from the Western ocean and most northern climes, to the lake Mæotis eastward, and that part of Scythia which borders upon Pontus : that there the two nations mingle, and thence issue ; not all at once, nor at all seasons, but in the spring of every year : that, by means of these annual supplies, they had gradually opened themselves a way over the greatest part of the European continent ; and that, though they are distinguished by different names according to their tribes, yet their whole body is comprehended under the general name of Cello-Scythæ.

Others say, they were a small part of the Cimmerians, well known to the ancient Greeks : and that this small part quitting their native soil, or being expelled by the Scythians on account of some sedition, passed from the Palus Mæotis into Asia, under the conduct of Lygdamis their chief. But that *the greater and more warlike part dwell in the extremities of the earth near the Northern Sea. These inhabit a country so dark and woody that the sun is seldom seen, by reason of the many high and spreading trees, which reach upwards as far as the Hercynian forest. They are under that part of the heavens, where the elevation of the pole is such, that by reason of the declination of the parallels, it makes almost a vertical point to the inhabitants ; and their day and night are of such a length, that they serve to divide the year into two equal parts : which gave occasion to the fiction of Homer concerning the infernal regions.*

Hence, therefore, these barbarians, who came into Italy, first issued ; being anciently called Cimmerii, afterwards Cimbri ; and the appellation was not at all from their manners. But these things rest rather on conjecture than historical certainty. Most historians, however, agree, that their numbers, instead of being less, were rather greater, than we have related. As to their courage, their spirit, and the force and vivacity with which they made an impression, we may compare them to a devouring flame. Nothing could resist their impetuosity ; all that came in their way, were trodden down, or driven before them like cattle. Many respectable armies and generals¹ employed by the Romans to guard the Transalpine Gaul, were shamefully routed ; and the feeble resistance they made to the first efforts of the barbarians, was the chief thing that drew them towards Rome. For, having beaten all they met, and loaded themselves with plunder, they determined to settle nowhere, till they had destroyed Rome, and laid waste all Italy.

The Romans, alarmed from all quarters with this news, called Marius to the command, and elected him a second time consul. It

¹ Cassius Longinus, Aurelius, Scaurus, Cæpio, and Cn. Malleus.

was, indeed, unconstitutional for any one to be chosen who was absent, or who had not waited the regular time between a first and second consulship; but the people overruled all that was said against him. They considered, that this was not the first instance in which the law had given way to the public utility; nor was the present occasion less urgent than that, when, contrary to law,¹ they made Scipio consul; for then they were not anxious for the safety of their own city, but only desirous of destroying Carthage. These reasons prevailing, Marius returned with his army from Africa, and entering upon his consulship on the first of January, which the Romans reckon the beginning of their year, led up his triumph the same day. Jugurtha, now a captive, was a spectacle as agreeable to the Romans, as it was beyond their expectation; no one having ever imagined that the war could be brought to a period while he was alive: so various was the character of that man, that he knew how to accommodate himself to all sorts of fortune, and through all his subtlety there ran a vein of courage and spirit. It is said, that when he was led before the car of the conqueror, he lost his senses. After the triumph he was thrown into prison, where, whilst they were in haste to strip him, some tore his robe off his back, and others catching eagerly at his pendants, pulled off the tips of his ears with them. When he was thrust down naked into the dungeon, all wild and confused, he said with a frantic smile, "Heavens! how cold is this bath of yours!" There struggling for six days with extreme hunger, and to the last hour labouring for the preservation of life, he came to such an end as his crimes deserved. There were carried (we are told) in this triumph, 3007 pounds of gold, 5775 of silver bullion, and of silver coin 17028 drachmas.

After the solemnity was over, Marius assembled the senate in the Capitol, where, either through inadvertency or gross insolence, he entered in his triumphal robe: but soon perceiving that the senate was offended, he went and put on his ordinary habit, and then returned to his place.

When he set out with the army, he trained his soldiers to labour while upon the road, accustoming them to long and tedious marches, and compelling every man to carry his own baggage, and provide his own victuals. So that afterwards laborious people, who executed readily and without murmuring whatever they were ordered, were called *Marius's mules*. Some, indeed, give another reason for this proverbial saying. They say, that when Scipio besieged Numantia, he chose to inspect, not only the arms and horses, but the very mules and waggons, that all might be in readiness and good order; on which occasion Marius brought forth his horse in fine condition, and his mule too in better case, and stronger and gentler than those of others. The general, much pleased with Marius's beasts, often made mention of them; and hence those who by way of raillery praised a drudging patient man, called him *Marius's mule*.

¹ Scipio was elected consul before he was thirty years old, though the common age required in the candidates was forty-

two. Indeed, the people dispensed with it in other instances besides this.

On this occasion, it was a very fortunate circumstance for Marius, that the barbarians, turning their course, like a reflux of the tide, first invaded Spain. For this gave him time to strengthen his men by exercise, and to raise and confirm their courage; and what was still of greater importance, to show them what he himself was. His severe behaviour, and inflexibility in punishing, when it had once accustomed them to mind their conduct and be obedient, appeared both just and salutary. When they were a little used to his hot and violent spirit, to the harsh tone of his voice, and the fierceness of his countenance, they no longer considered him as terrible to themselves but to the enemy. Above all, the soldiers were charmed with his integrity in judging; and this contributed not a little to procure Marius a third consulate. Besides, the barbarians were expected in the spring, and the people were not willing to meet them under any other general. They did not, however, come so soon as they were looked for, and the year expired without his getting a sight of them. The time of a new election coming on, and his colleague being dead, Marius left the command of the army to Manius Aquilius, and went himself to Rome. Several persons of great merit stood for the consulate; but Lucius Saturninus, a tribune who led the people, being gained by Marius, in all his speeches exhorted them to choose him consul. Marius, for his part, desired to be excused, pretending that he did not want the office: whereupon Saturninus called him a traitor to his country, who deserted the command in such time of danger. It was not difficult to perceive that Marius dissembled, and that the tribune acted a bungling part under him; yet the people considering that the present juncture required both his capacity and good fortune, created him consul a fourth time, and appointed Lutatius Catullus his colleague, a man much esteemed by the patricians, and not unacceptable to the commons.

Marius, being informed of the enemy's approach, passed the Alps with the utmost expedition; and having marked out his camp by the river Rhone, fortified it and brought into it a large supply of provisions: that the want of necessaries might never compel him to fight at a disadvantage. But as the carriage of provisions by sea was tedious and very expensive, he found a way to make it easy and very expeditious. The mouth of the Rhone was at that time choked up with mud and sand, which the beating of the sea had lodged there; so that it was very dangerous, if not impracticable, for vessels of burden to enter it. Marius, therefore, set his army, now quite at leisure, to work there; and having caused a cut to be made capable of receiving large ships, he turned a great part of the river into it; thus drawing it to a coast, where the opening to the sea is easy and secure. This cut still retains his name.

The barbarians dividing themselves into two bodies, it fell to the lot of the Cimbri to march the upper way through Noricum against Catullus, and to force that pass; while the Teutones and Ambrones took the road through Liguria along the sea-coast, in order to reach Marius. The Cimbri spent some time in preparing for their march:

but the Teutones and Ambrones set out immediately, and pushed forward with great expedition ; so that they soon traversed the intermediate country, and presented to the view of the Romans an incredible number of enemies, terrible in their aspect, and in their voice and shouts of war different from all other men. They spread themselves over a vast extent of ground near Marius, and when they had encamped, they challenged him to battle.

The consul, for his part, regarded them not, but kept his soldiers within the trenches, rebuking the vanity and rashness of those who wanted to be in action, and calling them traitors to their country. He told them, " Their ambition should not now be for triumphs and trophies, but to dispel the dreadful storm that hung over them, and to save Italy from destruction." These things he said privately to his chief officers and men of the first rank. As for the common soldiers, he made them mount guard by turns upon the ramparts, to accustom them to bear the dreadful looks of the enemy, and to hear their savage voices without fear, as well as to make them acquainted with their arms, and their way of using them. By these means, what at first was terrible, by being often looked upon, would in time become unaffecting. For he concluded, that with regard to objects of terror, novelty adds many unreal circumstances, and that things really dreadful lose their effect by familiarity. Indeed, the daily sight of the barbarians not only lessened the fears of the soldiers, but the menacing behaviour and intolerable vanity of the enemy, provoked their resentment, and inflamed their courage. For they not only plundered and ruined the adjacent country, but advanced to the very trenches with the greatest insolence and contempt.

Marius at last was told, that the soldiers vented their grief in such complaints as these : " What effeminacy has Marius discovered in us, that he thus keeps us locked up, like so many women, and restrains us from fighting ? Come on ; let us, with the spirit of freemen, ask him if he waits for others to fight for the liberties of Rome, and intends to make use of us only as the vilest labourers, in digging trenches, in carrying out loads of dirt, and turning the course of rivers ? It is for such noble works as these, no doubt, that he exercises us in such painful labours ; and, when they are done, he will return and show his fellow-citizens the glorious fruits of the continuation of his power. It is true, Carbo and Cæpio were beaten by the enemy : but does their ill success terrify him ? Surely Carbo and Cæpio were generals as much inferior to Marius, in valour and renown, as we are superior to the army they led. Better it were to be in action, though we suffered from it like them than to sit still and see the destruction of our allies."

Marius, delighted with these speeches, talked to them in a soothing way. He told them, " It was not from any distrust of them that he sat still, but that, by order of certain oracles, he waited both for the time and place which were to ensure him the victory." For he had with him a Syrian woman, named Martha, who was said to have the gift of prophecy. She was carried about in a litter

with great respect and solemnity, and the sacrifices he offered were all by her direction. She had formerly applied to the senate in this character, and made an offer of predicting for them future events, but they refused to hear her. Then she betook herself to the women, and gave them a specimen of her art. She addressed herself particularly to the wife of Marius, at whose feet she happened to sit, when there was a combat of gladiators, and fortunately enough, told her which of them would prove victorious. Marius's wife sent her to her husband, who received her with the utmost veneration, and provided for her the litter in which she was generally carried. When she went to sacrifice, she wore a purple robe, lined with the same, and buttoned up, and held in her hand a spear adorned with ribbands and garlands. When they saw this pompous scene, many doubted whether Marius was really persuaded of her prophetic abilities, or only pretended to be so, and acted a part, while he showed the woman in this form.

But what Alexander at Myndos relates concerning the vultures really deserves admiration. Two of them, it seems, always appeared, and followed the army, before any great success, being well known by their brazen collars. The soldiers, when they took them, had put these collars upon them, and then let them go. From this time they knew, and in a manner saluted the soldiers; and the soldiers, whenever these appeared upon their march, rejoiced in the assurance of performing something extraordinary.

About this time, there happened many prodigies, most of them of the usual kind. But news was brought from America and Tudertum, cities in Italy, that one night there were seen in the sky spears and shields of fire, now waving about, and then clashing against each other, in imitation of the postures and motions of men fighting; and that, one party giving way, and the other advancing, at last they all disappeared in the west. Much about this time, too, there arrived from Pessinus Batabaces, priest of the mother of the gods, with an account that the goddess had declared from her sanctuary, "That the Romans would soon obtain a great and glorious victory." The senate had given credit to his report, and decreed the goddess a temple on account of the victory. But when Batabaces went out, to make the same declaration to the people, Aulus Pompeius, one of the tribunes, prevented him, calling him an impostor, and driving him in an ignominious manner from the *rostrum*. What followed, indeed, was the thing which contributed most to the credit of the prediction, for Aulus had scarce dissolved the assembly, and reached his own house, when he was seized with a violent fever, of which he died within a week. This was a fact universally known.

Marius still keeping close, the Teutones attempted to force his entrenchments; but being received with a shower of darts from the camp, by which they lost a number of men, they resolved to march forward, concluding that they might pass the Alps in full security. They packed up their baggage, therefore, and marched by the Roman camp. Then it was that the immensity of their numbers

appeared in the clearest light, from the length of their train, and the time they took up in passing; for, it is said, that though they moved on without intermission, they were six days in going by Marius's camp. Indeed, they went very near it, and asked the Romans by way of insult, "Whether they had any commands to their wives, for they should be shortly with them?" As soon as the barbarians had all passed by, and were in full march, Marius likewise decamped, and followed; always taking care to keep near them, and choosing strong places at some small distance for his camp, which he also fortified, in order that he might pass the nights in safety. Thus they moved on till they came to *Aquæ Sextiæ*, from whence there is but a short march to the Alps.

There Marius prepared for battle; having pitched upon a place for his camp, which was unexceptionable in point of strength, but afforded little water. By this circumstance, they tell us, he wanted to excite the soldiers to action; and when many of them complained of thirst, he pointed to a river which ran close by the enemy's camp, and told them, "That thence they must purchase water with their blood." "Why then," said they, "do you not lead us thither immediately, before our blood is quite parched up?" To which he answered in a softer tone, "I will lead you thither, but first let us fortify our camp."

The soldiers obeyed, though with some reluctance. But the servants of the army, being in great want of water, both for themselves and their cattle, ran in crowds to the stream, some with pick-axes, some with hatchets, and others with swords and javelins, along with their pitchers; for they were resolved to have water, though they were obliged to fight for it. These at first were encountered by a small party of the enemy, when some having bathed were engaged at dinner, and others were still bathing. For there the country abounds in hot wells. This gave the Romans an opportunity of cutting off a number of them, while they were indulging themselves in those delicious baths, and charmed with the sweetness of the place. The cry of those brought others to their assistance, so that it was now difficult for Marius to restrain the impetuosity of his soldiers, who were in pain for their servants. Besides, the *Ambrones*, to the number of 30,000, who were the best troops the enemy had, and who had already defeated *Manlius* and *Cæpio*, were drawn out, and stood to their arms. Though they had overcharged themselves with eating, yet the wine they had drank had given them fresh spirits; and they advanced, not in a wild and disorderly manner, or with a confused and inarticulate noise: but beating their arms at regular intervals, and all keeping time with the tune, they came on crying out, *Ambrones! Ambrones!* This they did, either to encourage each other, or to terrify the enemy with their name. The *Ligurians* were the first of the Italians that moved against them: and when they heard the enemy cry *Ambrones* they echoed back the word, which was indeed their own ancient name. Thus the shout was often returned from one army to the other before they charged, and the officers on both sides joining in

it, and striving which should pronounce the word loudest, added by this means to the courage and impetuosity of their troops.

The Ambrones were obliged to pass the river, and this broke their order; so that, before they could form again, the Ligurians charged the foremost of them and thus began the battle. The Romans came to support the Ligurians, and pouring down from the higher ground, pressed the enemy so hard, that they soon put them in disorder. Many of them jostling each other on the banks of the river, were slain there, and the river itself was filled with dead bodies. Those who were got safe over, not daring to make head, were cut off by the Romans, as they fled to their camp and carriages. There the women meeting them with swords and axes, and setting up a horrid and hideous cry, fell upon the fugitives, as well as the pursuers, the former as traitors, and the latter as enemies. Mingling with the combatants, they laid hold on the Roman shields, caught at their swords with their naked hands, and obstinately suffered themselves to be hacked in pieces. Thus the battle is said to have been fought on the banks of the river rather by accident than any design of the general.

The Romans, after having destroyed so many of the Ambrones, retired as it grew dark; but the camp did not resound with songs of victory, as might have been expected upon such success. There were no entertainments, no mirth in their tents, nor, what is the most agreeable circumstance to the soldier after victory, any sound and refreshing sleep. The night was passed in the greatest dread and perplexity. The camp was without trench or rampart. There remained yet many myriads of the barbarians unconquered; and such of the Ambrones as escaped, mixing with them, a cry was heard all night, not like the sighs and groans of men, but like the howling and bellowing of wild beasts. As this proceeded from such an innumerable host, the neighbouring mountains and the hollow banks of the river returned the sound, and the horrid din filled the whole plains. The Romans felt the impressions of terror, and Marius himself was filled with astonishment at the apprehension of a tumultuous night-engagement. However, the barbarians did not attack them, either that night or next day, but spent the time in consulting how to dispose and draw themselves up to the best advantage.

In the meantime Marius observing the sloping hills and woody hollows that hung over the enemy's camp, despatched Claudius Marcellus with 3000 men, to lie in ambush there till the fight was begun, and then to fall upon the enemy's rear. The rest of his troops he ordered to sup and go to rest in good time. Next morning as soon as it was light he drew up before the camp, and commanded the cavalry to march into the plain. The Teutones seeing this, could not contain themselves nor stay till all the Romans were come down into the plain, where they might fight them upon equal terms; but arming hastily through thirst of vengeance advanced up to the hill. Marius despatched his officers through the whole army, with orders that they should stand still and wait for the enemy. When

the barbarians were within reach, the Romans were to throw their javelins, then come to sword in hand, and pressing upon them with their shields, push them with all their force. For he knew the place was so slippery, that the enemy's blows could have no great weight, nor could they preserve any close order, where the declivity of the ground continually changed their poise. At the same time that he gave these directions, he was the first that set the example. For he was inferior to none in personal agility, and in resolution he far exceeded them all.

The Romans, by their firmness and united charge, kept the barbarians from ascending the hill, and by little and little forced them down into the plain. There the foremost battalions were beginning to form again, when the utmost confusion discovered itself in the rear. For Marcellus, who had watched his opportunity, as soon as he found, by the noise, which reached the hills where he lay, that the battle was begun, with great impetuosity and loud shouts fell upon the enemy's rear, and destroyed a considerable number of them. The hindmost being pushed upon those before, the whole army was soon put in disorder. Thus attacked both in front and rear, they could not stand the double shock, but forsook their ranks, and fled.¹ The Romans pursuing, either killed or took prisoners above 100,000, and having made themselves masters of their tents, carriages, and baggage, voted as many of them as were not plundered, a present to Marius. This indeed was a noble recompence, yet it was thought very inadequate to the generalship he had shown in that great and imminent danger.²

Other historians give a different account, both of the disposition of the spoils, and the number of the slain. From these writers we learn, that the Massilians walled in their vineyards with the bones they found in the field: and that the rain which fell the winter following, soaked in the moisture of the putrified bodies the ground was so enriched by it, that it produced the next season a prodigious crop. Thus the opinion of Archilochus is confirmed, that *fields are fattened with blood*. It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally fall after great battles; whether it be, that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapours they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the smallest cause.

After the battle Marius selected from among the arms and other spoils, such as were elegant and entire, and likely to make the greatest show in his triumph. The rest he piled together, and offered them as a splendid sacrifice to the gods. The army stood round the pile crowned with laurel; and himself arrayed in his purple robe, and girt after the manner of the Romans, took a lighted

¹ This victory was gained the second year of Olympiad 169 a.c. 101.

² And yet there does not appear anything very extraordinary in the generalship of Marius on this occasion. The

ignorance and rashness of the barbarians did everything in his favour. The Teutones lost the battle, as Hawley lost it at Falkirk by attempting the hills.

torch. He had just lifted it up with both hands towards heaven and was going to set fire to the piles, when some friends were seen galloping towards him. Great silence and expectation followed. When they were come near, they leaped from their horses, and saluted Marius consul the fifth time, delivering him letters to the same purpose. This added great joy to the solemnity, which the soldiers expressed by acclamations and by clanking their arms; and while the officers were presenting Marius with new crowns of laurel, he set fire to the pile, and finished the sacrifice.

But whatever it is, that will not permit us to enjoy any great prosperity pure and unmixed but chequers human life with a variety of good and evil; whether it be fortune or some chastising deity, or necessity and the nature of things; a few days after this joyful solemnity, the sad news was brought to Marius of what had befallen his colleague Catullus. An event, which, like a cloud in the midst of a calm, brought fresh alarms upon Rome, and threatened her with another tempest. Catullus, who had the Cimbri to oppose, came to a resolution to give up the defence of the heights lest he should weaken himself by being obliged to divide his force into many parts. He therefore descended quickly from the Alps into Italy, and posted his army behind the river Athesis (Adige); where he blocked up the fords with strong fortifications on both sides, and threw a bridge over it; that so he might be in a condition to succour the garrisons beyond it, if the barbarians should make their way through the narrow passes of the mountains, and attempt to storm them. The barbarians held their enemies in such contempt, and came on with much insolence, that rather to show their strength and courage, than out of any necessity, *they exposed themselves naked to the showers of snow; and, having pushed through the ice and deep drifts of snow to the tops of the mountains, they put their broad shields under them, and so slid down in spite of the broken rocks and vast slippery descents.*

When they had encamped near the river, and taken a view of the channel, they determined to fill it up. Then they tore up the neighbouring hills, like the giants of old; they pulled up trees by the roots; they broke off massy rocks, and rolled in huge heaps of earth. These were to dam up the current. Other bulky materials, besides these, were thrown in, to force away the bridge, which being carried down the stream with great violence, beat against the timber, and shook the foundation. At the sight of this the Roman soldiers were struck with terror, and great part of them quitted the camp and drew back. On this occasion Catullus, like an able and excellent general, showed that he preferred the glory of his country to his own. For when he found that he could not persuade his men to keep their post, and that they were deserting it in a very dastardly manner, he ordered his standard to be taken up, and running to the foremost of the fugitives, led them on himself; choosing rather that the disgrace should fall upon him than upon his country, and that his soldiers should not seem to fly, but to follow their general.

The barbarians now assaulted and took the fortress on the other

side of the Athesis : but admiring the bravery of the garrison, who had behaved in a manner suitable to the glory of Rome, they dismissed them upon certain conditions, having first made them swear to them upon a brazen bull. In the battle that followed, this bull was taken among the spoils, and is said to have been carried to Catullus's house, as the first-fruits of the victory. The country at present being without defence, the Cimbri spread themselves over it, and committed great depredations.

Hereupon Marius was called home. When he arrived, every one expected that he would triumph, and the senate readily passed a decree for that purpose. However, he declined it ; whether it was, that he was unwilling to deprive his men, who had shared in the danger, of their part of the honour, or that to encourage the people in the present extremity, he chose to entrust the glory of his former achievements with the fortune of Rome, in order to have it restored to him with interest upon his next success. Having made an oration, suitable to the time, he went to join Catullus, who was much encouraged by his coming. He then sent for his army out of Gaul ; and when it was arrived, he crossed the Po, with a design to keep the barbarians from penetrating into the interior parts of Italy. But they deferred the combat, on pretence that they expected the Teutones, and that they wondered at their delay ; either being really ignorant of their fate, or choosing to seem so. For they punished those who brought them that account with stripes ; and sent to ask Marius for lands and cities, sufficient both for them and their brethren. When Marius inquired of the ambassadors who their brethren were, they told him the Teutones. The assembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner, "*Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren ; for they have land enough, which we have already given them, and they shall have it for ever.*" The ambassadors perceiving the irony, answered in sharp and scurrilous terms, assuring him, " That the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and the Teutones when they came." " And they are not far off," said Marius, " it will be very unkind, therefore, in you to go away without saluting your brethren." At the same time he ordered the kings of the Teutones to be brought out, loaded as they were with chains : for they had been taken by the Sequani, as they were endeavouring to escape over the Alps.

As soon as the ambassadors had acquainted the Cimbri with what had passed, they marched directly against Marius, who at that time lay still, and kept within his trenches. It is reported that on this occasion he contrived a new form for the javelins. Till then they used to fasten the shaft to the iron head with two iron pins. But Marius now letting one of them remain as it was, had the other taken out, and a weak wooden peg put in its place. By this contrivance he intended, that when the javelin stuck in the enemy's shield, it should not stand right out ; but that, the wooden peg breaking, and the iron pin bending, the shaft of the weapon should be dragged upon the ground, while the point stuck fast in the shield.

Boiorix, king of the Cimbri, came now with a small party of

horse to the Roman camp, and challenged Marius to appoint the time and place where they should meet and decide it by arms, to whom the country should belong. Marius answered, "That the Romans never consulted their enemies when to fight; however, he would indulge the Cimbri in this point." Accordingly they agreed to fight the third day after, and that the plain of Vercellæ should be the field of battle, which was fit for the Roman cavalry to act on and convenient for the barbarians to display their number.

Both parties kept their day, and drew up their forces over against each other. Catullushad under his command 20,300 men: Marius had 32,000. The latter were drawn up in the two wings, and Catullus was in the centre. Sylla, who was present in the battle, gives us this account; and it is reported, that Marius made this disposition, in hopes of breaking the Cimbrian battalions with the wings only, and securing to himself and his soldiers the honour of the victory, before Catullus could have an opportunity to come up to the charge; it being usual, in a large front, for the wings to advance before the main body. This is confirmed by the defence which Catullus made of his own behaviour, in which he insisted much on the malignant designs of Marius against him.

The Cimbrian infantry marched out of their trenches without noise, and formed so as to have their flanks equal to their front; each side of the square extending to 30 furlongs. Their cavalry, to the number of 15,000, issued forth in great splendour. Their helmets represented the heads and open jaws of strange and frightful wild beasts: on these were fixed high plumes, which made the men appear taller. Their breast-plates were of polished iron, and their shields were white and glittering. Each man had two-edged darts to fight with at a distance, and when they came hand to hand, they used broad and heavy swords. In this engagement they did not fall directly upon the front of the Romans, but wheeling to the right they endeavoured by little and little to enclose the enemy between them and their infantry, who were posted on the left. The Roman generals perceived their artful design, but were not able to restrain their own men. One happened to cry out, that the enemy fled, and they all set off upon the pursuit. In the meantime, the barbarian foot came on like a vast sea. Marius having purified, lifted his hands towards heaven, and vowed a hecatomb to the gods; and Catullus, in the same posture, promised to consecrate a temple to the fortune of that day. As Marius sacrificed on this occasion, it is said, that the entrails were no sooner shown him, than he cried out with a loud voice, "The victory is mine."

However, when the battle was joined, an accident happened, which, as Sylla writes,¹ appeared to be intended by Heaven to humble Marius. A prodigious dust, it seems, arose, which hid both armies. Marius moving first to the charge, had the misfor-

¹ It is a misfortune that Catullus' History of his consulship, and a greater that Sylla's commentaries, are lost.

tune to miss the enemy; and having passed by their army, wandered about with his troops a long time in the field. In the meantime, the good fortune of Catullus directed the enemy to him, and it was his legions (in which Sylla tells us he fought) to whose lot the chief conflict fell. The heat of the weather, and the sun which shone full in the faces of the Cumbri, fought for the Romans. Those barbarians, being bred in shady and frozen countries, could bear the severest cold, but were not proof against heat. Their bodies soon ran down with sweat; they drew their breath with difficulty, and were forced to hold their shields to shade their faces. Indeed this battle was fought not long after the summer solstice, and the Romans keep a festival for it on the third day of the calends of August, then called Sextilis. The dust too, which hid the enemy, helped to encourage the Romans. For as they could have no distinct view of the vast numbers of their antagonists, they ran to the charge, and were come to close engagement before the sight of such multitudes could give them any impressions of terror. Besides, the Romans were so strengthened by labour and exercise, that not one of them was observed to sweat or be out of breath, notwithstanding the suffocating heat and the violence of the encounter. So Catullus himself is said to have written, in commendation of his soldiers.

The greatest and best part of the enemy's troops were cut to pieces upon the spot; those who fought in the front fastened themselves together, by long cords run through their belts,¹ to prevent their ranks from being broken. The Romans drove back the fugitives to their camp, where *they found the most shocking spectacle. The women standing in mourning by their carriages, killed those that fled; some their husbands, some their brothers, others their fathers. They strangled their little children with their own hands, and threw them under the wheels and horses' feet. Last of all, they killed themselves.* They tell us of one that was seen slung from the top of a waggon, with a child hanging at each heel. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves by the neck, some to the horns of the oxen, others to their legs, and then pricked them on; that by the starting of the beasts, they might be strangled or torn to pieces. But though they were so industrious to destroy themselves, above 60,000 were taken prisoners, and the killed were said to have been twice that number.

Marius's soldiers plundered the baggage; but the other spoils, with the ensigns and trumpets, they tell us, were brought to the camp of Catullus; and he availed himself chiefly of this, as a proof that the victory belonged to him. A hot dispute, it seems, arose between his troops and those of Marius, which had the best claim, and the ambassadors from Parma, who happened to be there, were chosen arbitrators. Catullus's soldiers led them to the field of battle to see

¹ This was an absurd contrivance to keep their ranks. But they intended also

to have bound their prisoners with the cords after the battle.

the dead, and clearly proved that they were killed by their javelins, because Catullus had taken care to have the shafts inscribed with his name. Nevertheless, the whole honour of the day was ascribed to Marius, on account of his former victory, and his present authority. Nay, such was the applause of the populace, that they called him *the third founder of Rome*, as having rescued her from a danger not less dreadful than that from the Gauls. In their rejoicings at home with their wives and children, at supper they offered libations to Marius along with the gods, and would have given him alone the honour of both triumphs. He declined this indeed, and triumphed with Catullus being desirous to show his moderation after such extraordinary instances of success. Or, perhaps, he was afraid of some opposition from Catullus's soldiers, who might not have suffered him to triumph, if he had deprived their general of his share of the honour.

In this manner his fifth consulate was passed. And now he aspired to a sixth, with more ardour than any man had ever shown for his first. He courted the people, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the meanest of them by such servile condescensions, as were not only unsuitable to his dignity, but even contrary to his disposition; assuming an air of gentleness and complaisance, for which nature never meant him. It is said, that in civil affairs and the tumultuous proceedings of the populace, his ambition had given him an uncommon timidity. That intrepid firmness which he discovered in battle forsook him in the assemblies of the people, and the least breath of praise or dislike disconcerted him in his address. Yet we are told, that when he had granted the freedom of the city to a thousand Camerians, who had distinguished themselves by their behaviour in the wars, and his proceeding was found fault with as contrary to law, he said, "The law spoke too softly to be heard amidst the din of arms." However, the noise that he dreaded, and that robbed him of his presence of mind, was that of popular assemblies. In war he easily obtained the highest rank, because they could not do without him; but in the administration he was sometimes in danger of losing the honours he solicited. In these cases he had recourse to the partiality of the multitude; and had no scruple of making his honesty subservient to his ambition.

By these means he made himself obnoxious to all the patricians. But he was most afraid of Metellus, whom he had treated with ingratitude. Besides, Metellus was a man, who, from a spirit of true virtue, was naturally an enemy to those who endeavoured to gain the populace by evil arts, and directed all their measures to please them. Marius, therefore, was very desirous to get him out of the way. For this purpose he associated with Glucias and Saturninus, two of the most daring and turbulent men in Rome, who had the indigent and seditious part of the people at their command. By their assistance he got several laws enacted; and having planted many of his soldiers in the assemblies, his faction prevailed and Metellus was overborne.

Rutillius,¹ in other respects a man of credit and veracity, but particularly prejudiced against Marius, tells us he obtained his sixth consulate by large sums which he distributed among the tribes, and having thrown out Metellus by dint of money, prevailed with them to elect Valerius Flaccus, rather his servant than his colleague. The people had never before bestowed so many consulates on any one man, except Valerius Corvinus.² And there was this great difference, that between the first and sixth consulate of Corvinus there was an interval of forty-five years; whereas Marius, after his first, was carried through five more without interruption, by one tide of fortune.

In the last of these he exposed himself to much hatred, by abetting Saturninus in all his crimes; particularly in his murder of Nonius, whom he slew because he was his competitor for the tribuneship. Saturninus, being appointed tribune of the people, proposed an Agrarian law, in which there was a clause expressly providing, "*That the senate should come and swear in full assembly, to confirm whatever the people should decree, and not oppose them in any thing.*" Marius in the senate pretended to declare against this clause, asserting that, "He would never take such an oath, and that he believed no wise man would. For, supposing the law not a bad one, it would be a disgrace to the senate to be compelled to give sanction to a thing, which they should be brought to only by choice or persuasion."

These, however, were not his real sentiments; but he was laying for Metellus an unavoidable snare. As to himself, he reckoned that a great part of virtue and prudence consisted in dissimulation, therefore he made but small account of his declaration in the senate. At the same time, knowing Metellus to be a man of immoveable firmness, who, with Pindar, esteemed *Truth the spring of heroic virtue*, he hoped, by refusing the oath himself, to draw him in to refuse it too; which would infallibly expose him to the implacable resentment of the people. The event answered his expectation. Upon Metellus's declaring that he would not take the oath, the senate was dismissed. A few days after, Saturninus summoned the fathers, to appear in the forum, and swear to that article, and Marius made his appearance among the rest. A profound silence ensued, and all eyes were fixed upon him, when, bidding adieu to the fine things he had said in the senate, he told the audience, "That he was not so opinionative as to pretend absolutely to prejudge a matter of such importance, and therefore he would take the oath, and keep the law too, provided it was a law." This proviso he added, merely to give a colour to his impudence, and was sworn immediately.³

¹ P. Rutillius Rufus was Consul the year before the second consulship of Marius. He wrote his own life in Latin, and a Roman History in Greek. Cicero mentions him, on several occasions, as a man of honour and probity. He was called six or seven years after the sixth consulship of Marius. Sylla would have recalled him, but he refused to return.

² Valerius Corvinus was elected Consul, when he was only 23 years of age, in the year of Rome 408; and he was appointed Consul the sixth time in year o. Rome 452.

³ Thus Marius made the first step towards the ruin of the Roman constitution, which happened not long after. If the senate were to swear to confirm whatever

The people, charmed with his compliance, expressed their sense of it in loud acclamations ; while the patricians were abashed, and held his double-dealing in the highest detestation. Intimidated by the people, they took the oath, however, in their order, till it came to Metellus. But Metellus, though his friends exhorted and entreated him to be conformable, and not expose himself to those dreadful penalties which Saturninus had provided for such as refused, shrunk not from the dignity of his resolution, nor took the oath. That great man abode by his principles ; he was ready to suffer the greatest calamities, rather than do a dishonourable thing ; and as he quitted the forum, he said to those about him, "*To do an ill action is base ; to do a good one, which involves you in no danger is nothing more than common ; but it is the property of a good man, to do great and good things, though he risks everything by it.*"

Saturninus then caused a decree to be made, that the consuls should declare Metellus a person interdicted the use of fire and water, whom no man should admit into his house. And the meanest of the people, adhering to that party, were ready even to assassinate him. The nobility, now anxious for Metellus, ranged themselves on his side ; but he would suffer no sedition on his account. Instead of that, he adopted a wise measure, which was to leave the city. "For," said he, "either matters will take a better turn, and the people repent and recall me ; or if they remain the same, it will be best to be at a distance from Rome." What regard and what honours were paid Metellus during his banishment, and how he lived at Rhodes in the study of philosophy, it will be more convenient to mention in his life.

Marius was so highly obliged to Saturninus for this last piece of service, that he was forced to connive at him, though he now ran out into every act of insolence and outrage. He did not consider that he was giving the reins to a destroying fury, who was making his way in blood to absolute power and the subversion of the state. All this while Marius was desirous to keep fair with the nobility, and at the same time to retain the good graces of the people, and this led him to act a part, than which nothing can be conceived more ungenerous and deceitful. One night some of the first men in the state came to his house, and pressed him to declare against Saturninus : but at that very time he let in Saturninus at another door unknown to them. Then pretending a disorder in his bowels, he went from one party to the other : and this trick he played several times over, still exasperating both against each other. At last the senate and the equestrian order rose in a body, and expressed their indignation in such strong terms, that he was obliged to send a party of soldiers into the forum, to suppress the sedition. Saturninus, Glaucias, and the rest of the cabal, fled into

the people should decree, whether good or bad, they ceased to have a weight in the scale, and the government became a democracy. And as the people grew so corrupt as to take the highest price that

was offered them, absolute power must be advanced with hasty strides. Indeed a nation which has no principle of public virtue left is not fit to be governed by any other.

the Capitol. There they were besieged, and at last forced to yield for want of water, the pipes being cut off. When they could hold out no longer, they called for Marius, and surrendered themselves to him upon the public faith. He tried every art to save them, but nothing would avail; they no sooner came down into the forum, than they were all put to the sword.¹ He was now become equally odious both to the nobility and the commons, so that when the time for the election of Censors came on, contrary to expectation, he declined offering himself, and permitted others of less note to be chosen. But though it was his fear of a repulse that made him sit still, he gave it another colour; pretending he did not choose to make himself obnoxious to the people by a severe inspection into their lives and manners.

An edict was now proposed for the recall of Metellus. Marius opposed it with all his power; but finding his endeavours fruitless, he gave up the point, and the people passed the bill with pleasure. Unable to bear the sight of Metellus, he contrived to take a voyage to Cappadocia and Galatia, under pretence of offering some sacrifices which he had vowed to the mother of the gods. But he had another reason which was not known to the people. Incapable of making any figure in peace, and unversed in political knowledge, he saw that all his greatness arose from war, and that in a state of inaction its lustre began to fade. He, therefore, studied to raise new commotions. If he could but stir up the Asiatic kings, and particularly Mithridates, who seemed most inclined to quarrel, he hoped soon to be appointed general against him, and to have an opportunity to fill the city with new triumphs, as well as to enrich his own house with the spoils of Pontus and the wealth of its monarch. For this reason, though Mithridates treated him in the politest and most respectful manner, he was not in the least mollified, but addressed him in the following terms—"Mithridates, your business is, either to render yourself more powerful than the Romans, or to submit quietly to their commands." The king was quite amazed. He had often heard of the liberty of speech that prevailed among the Romans, but that was the first time he experienced it.

At his return to Rome, he built a house near the forum: either for the convenience of those who wanted to wait on him, which was the reason he assigned; or because he hoped to have a greater concourse of people at his gates. In this, however, he was mistaken. He had not those graces of conversation, that engaging address, which others were masters of; and therefore, like a mere implement of war, he was neglected in time of peace. He was not so much concerned at the preference given to others, but that which Sylla had gained afflicted him exceedingly: because he was rising by means of the envy which the patricians bore him, and his first step to the administration was, a quarrel with him. But when Bocchus, king of Numidia, now declared an ally of the Romans, erected in the Capitol some figures of Victory adorned with trophies, and

¹ The people despatched them with clubs and stones.

placed by them a set of golden statues, which represented him delivering Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla. Marius was almost distracted. He considered this as an act by which Sylla wanted to rob him of the glory of his achievements, and prepared to demolish these monuments by force. Sylla, on his part, as strenuously opposed him.

This edition was just upon the point of flaming out, when the War of the Allies intervened,¹ and put a stop to it. The most warlike and most populous nations of Italy conspired against Rome, and were not far from subverting the empire. Their strength consisted not only in the weapons and valour of their soldiers, but in the courage and capacity of their generals, who were not inferior to those of Rome.

This war, so remarkable for the number of battles and the variety of fortune that attended it, added as much to the reputation of Sylla, as it diminished that of Marius. The latter now seemed slow in his attacks, as well as dilatory in his resolutions: whether it were, that age had quenched his martial heat and vigour (for he was now above 65 years old) or that, as he himself said, his nerves being weak, and his body unwieldy, he underwent the fatigues of war, which were in fact above his strength, merely upon a point of honour. However, he beat the enemy in a great battle, wherein he killed at least 6000 of them, and through the whole he took care to give them no advantage over him. Nay, he suffered them to draw a line about him, to ridicule, and challenge him to the combat, without being in the least concerned at it. It is reported, that when Pompeidius Silo, an officer of the greatest eminence and authority among the allies, said to him, "If you are a great general, Marius, come down and fight us;" he answered, "If you are a great general, Silo, make me come down and fight." Another time, when the enemy gave the Romans a good opportunity of attacking them, and they were afraid to embrace it; after both parties were retired, he called his soldiers together, and made this short speech to them—"*I know not which to call the greatest cowards, the enemy or you; for neither dare they face your backs, nor you theirs.*" At last pretending to be incapacitated for the service by his infirmities, he laid down the command.

Yet when the war with the confederates drew to an end, and several applications were made, through the popular orators, for the command against Mithridates, the tribune Sulpitius, a bold and daring man, contrary to all expectation, brought forth Marius, and nominated him proconsul and general in the Mithridatic war. The people, upon this, were divided, some accepting Marius, while others called for Sylla, and bade Marius go to the warm baths of Baiaæ, for cure, since, by his own confession, he was quite worn out with age and defluxions. It seems, Marius had a fine villa at Misenum, more luxuriously and effeminately furnished than became a man

¹ This was also called the Marston war. It broke out in the 602d year of Rome. Vide *FLO.* l. iii. c. 18.

who had been at the head of so many armies, and had directed so many campaigns. Cornelia is said to have bought this house for 75,000 drachmas; yet, no long time after, Lucius Lucullus gave for it 5,000,200: to such a height did expense and luxury rise in the course of a few years.

Marius, however, affecting to shake off the infirmities of age, went every day into the *Campus Martius*; where he took the most robust exercises along with the young men, and showed himself nimble in his arms, and active on horseback, though his years had now made him heavy and corpulent. Some were pleased with these things, and went to see the spirit he exerted in the exercises. But the more sensible sort of people, when they beheld it, could not help pitying the avarice and ambition of a man, who, though raised from poverty to opulence, and from the meanest condition to greatness, knew not how to set bounds to his good fortune. It shocked them to think, that this man, instead of being happy in the admiration he had gained, and enjoying his present possessions in peace, as if he were in want of all things, was going, at so great an age, and after so many honours and triumphs, to Cappadocia and the Euxine Sea, to fight with Archelaus and Neoptolemus, the lieutenants of Mithridates. As for the reason that Marius assigned for this step, namely, that he wanted himself to train up his son to war, it was perfectly trifling.

The commonwealth had been sickly for some time, and now her disorder came to a crisis. Marius had found a fit instrument for her ruin in the audacity of Sulpitius; a man who in other respects admired and imitated Saturninus, but considered him as too timid and dilatory in his proceedings. Determined to commit no such error, he got 600 men of the equestrian order about him, as his guard, whom he called his Anti-senate.

One day while the Consuls were holding an assembly of the people,¹ Sulpitius came upon them with his assassins. The Consuls immediately fled, but he seized the son of one of them, and killed him on the spot. Sylla (the other Consul) was pursued, but escaped into the house of Marius, which nobody thought of; and when the pursuers were gone by, it is said that Marius himself let him out at a back gate, from whence he got safe to the camp. But Sylla, in his Commentaries, denies that he fled to the house of Marius. He writes, that he was taken thither to debate about certain edicts, which they wanted him to pass against his will; that he was surrounded with drawn swords, and carried forcibly to that house: and that at last he was removed from thence to the forum, where he was compelled to revoke the order of vocation,² which had been issued by him and his colleague.

Sulpitius, now carrying all before him, decreed the command of the army to Marius; and Marius, preparing for his march, sent

¹ Sylla and Pompeius Rufus were Consuls. It was the son of the latter that was slain.

² If that order had not been revoked,

no public business could have been done; consequently Marius could not have been appointed to the command against Mithridates.

two tribunes to Sylla, with orders that he should deliver up the army to them. But Sylla, instead of resigning his charge, animated his troops to revenge, and led them, to the number of 30,000 foot and 5000 horse, directly against Rome. As for the tribunes whom Marius had sent to demand the army of Sylla, they fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Marius, on the other hand, put to death many of Sylla's friends in Rome, and proclaimed liberty to all slaves that would take up arms in his behalf. But, we are told, there were but three that accepted this offer. He could, therefore, make but a slight resistance; Sylla soon entered the city, and Marius was forced to fly for his life.

As soon as he had quitted Rome, he was abandoned by those who had accompanied him. They dispersed themselves as they could; and night coming on, he retired to a little house he had near Rome, called Salonium. Thence he sent his son to some neighbouring farms of his father-in-law Mutius, to provide necessaries. However, he did not wait for his return, but went down to Ostia, where a friend of his, called Numerius, had prepared him a ship, and embarked, having with him only Granius, his wife's son by a former husband.

When young Marius had reached his grandfather's estate, he hastened to collect such things as he wanted, and to pack them up. But before he could make an end, he was overtaken by day-light, and was near being discovered by the enemy; for a party of horse had hastened thither, on suspicion that Marius might be lurking thereabouts. The bailiff of those grounds got sight of them in time, and hid the young man in a cart-load of beans. Then he put to his team, and driving up to the party of horsemen, passed on to Rome. Thus young Marius was conveyed to his wife, who supplied him with some necessaries; and as soon as it grew dark, he made for the sea, where finding a ship ready to sail for Africa, he embarked, and passed over to that country.

In the meantime the elder Marius with a favourable gale coasted Italy. But being afraid of falling into the hands of Gemini, a leading man in Tarracina, who was his professed enemy, he directed the mariners to keep clear of that place. The mariners were willing enough to oblige him; but the wind shifting on a sudden, and blowing hard from sea, they were afraid they should not be able to weather the storm. Besides, Marius was indisposed and sea-sick; they concluded therefore to make land, and with great difficulty got to Circæum. There finding that the tempest increased, and their provisions began to fail, they went on shore, and wandered up and down, they knew not whither. Such is the method taken by persons in great perplexity; they shun the present as the greatest evil, and seek for hope in the dark events of futurity. The land was their enemy, the sea was the same; it was dangerous to meet with men; it was dangerous also not to meet with them, because of their extreme want of provisions. In the evening they met with a few herdsmen, who had nothing to give them, but happening to know Marius, they desired he would immediately quit those parts, for a

little before they had seen a number of horse upon that very spot riding about in search of him. He was now involved in all manner of distress, and those about him tried to give out through him, that in this extremity he turned out of the road, and threw himself into a thick wood, where he passed the night in great anxiety. Next day, in distress for want of refreshment, and willing to make use of the little strength he had, before it quite forsook him, he moved down to the seaside. As he went, he encouraged his companions not to desert him, and earnestly exhorted them to wait for the accomplishment of his last hope, for which he reserved himself, upon the credit of some old prophecies. He told them that when he was very young, and lived in the country, an eagle's nest fell into his lap, with seven young ones in it. His parents surprised at the sight, applied to the diviners, who answered, that their son would be the most illustrious of men, and that he would seven times attain the highest office and authority in his country.

Some say, this had actually happened to Marius, others are of opinion, that it the persons who were then about him, and heard him relate it, on that as well as several other occasions during his exile, gave credit to it, and committed it to writing, though nothing could be more fabulous. *For an eagle has not more than twenty young ones at a time.* Nay, even Musurus accused of this fiction when he says *The eagle lays three eggs, sits on four, and hatches but one.* However this may be, it is agreed on all hands, that Marius, during his banishment, and in the greatest extremities, often said, 'He should certainly come to a seven h consulship.'

They were not now above two miles and a half from the city of Minturnæ when they espied at some considerable distance a troop of horse making towards them, and at the same time happened to see two barks sailing near the shore. They ran down, therefore, to the sea, with all the speed and strength they had, and when they had reached it, plunged in and swam towards the ships. Cnanius gained one of them, and passed over to an opposite island, called ENURIA. As for Marius, who was very heavy and awkward, he was borne with much difficulty by two servants above the water, and put into the other ship. The party of horse were by this time come to the seaside, from whence they called to the ships' crew either to put ashore immediately, or else to throw Marius overboard, and then they marched to where they pleased. Marius begged of them with tears to save him, and the masters of the vessel, after consulting together a few moments, in which they changed their opinions several times, resolved to make answer, 'That they would not deliver up Marius.' Upon this, the soldiers rode off in a great rage, and the sailors, soon departing from their resolution, made for land. They cast anchor in the mouth of the river Liris where it overflows and forms a marsh, and advised Marius, who was much hurried, to go and refresh himself on shore, till they could get a better wind. This they said would happen at a certain

Marius might as well avail himself of this fable, as of the prophecies of Marthe

hour, when the wind from the sea would fall, and that from the marshes rise. Marius believing them, they helped him ashore; and he seated himself on the grass, little thinking of what was going to befall him. For the crew immediately went on board again, weighed anchor, and sailed away: thinking it neither honourable to deliver up Marius, nor safe to protect him.

Thus deserted by all the world, he sat a good while on the shore, in silent stupefaction. At length, recovering himself with much difficulty, he rose and walked in a disconsolate manner, through those wild and devious places, till by scrambling over deep bogs and ditches full of water and mud, he came to the cottage of an old man who worked in the fens. He threw himself at his feet, and begged him, "To save and shelter a man, who, if he escaped the present danger, would reward him far beyond his hopes." The cottager, whether he knew him before, or was then moved with his venerable aspect, told him, "His hut would be sufficient, if he wanted only to repose himself; but if he was wandering about to elude the search of his enemies, he would hide him in a place much safer and more retired." Marius desiring him to do so, the poor man took him into the fens, and bade him hide himself in a hollow place by the river, where he laid upon him a quantity of reeds and other light things, that would cover, but not oppress him.

In a short time, however, he was disturbed with a tumultuous noise from the cottage. For Geminus had sent a number of men from Tarracina in pursuit of him; and one party coming that way, loudly threatened the old man for having entertained and concealed an enemy to the Romans. Marius, upon this, quitted the cave; and having stripped himself, plunged into the bog, amidst the thick water and mud. This expedient rather discovered than screened him. They hauled him out naked and covered with dirt, and carried him to Minturnæ, where they delivered him to the magistrates. For proclamation had been made through all those towns, that a general search should be made for Marius, and that he should be put to death, wherever he was found. The magistrates, however, thought proper to consider of it, and sent him under a guard to the house of Fannia. This woman had an inveterate aversion to Marius. When she was divorced from her husband Tinnius, she demanded her whole fortune, which was considerable, and Tinnius alleging adultery, the cause was brought before Marius, who was then consul for the sixth time. Upon the trial it appeared that Fannia was a woman of bad fame before her marriage; and that Tinnius was no stranger to her character when he married her. Besides, he had lived with her a considerable time in the state of matrimony. The consul, of course, reprimanded them both. The husband was ordered to restore his wife's fortune, and the wife, as a proper mark of her disgrace, was sentenced to pay a fine of four drachmas.

Fannia, however, forgetful of female resentment, entertained and encouraged Marius to the utmost of her power. He acknowledged her generosity, and at the same time expressed the greatest vivacity

and confidence. The occasion of this was an auspicious omen. When he was conducted to her house, as he approached, and the gate was opened, an ass came out to drink at a neighbouring fountain. The animal, with a vivacity uncommon to his species, fixed its eyes steadfastly on Marius, then brayed aloud, and, as it passed him, skipped wantonly along. The conclusion which he drew from this omen was, that the gods meant he should seek his safety by sea : for that it was not in consequence of any natural thirst that the ass went to the fountain.¹ This circumstance he mentioned to Fannia, and having ordered the door of his chamber to be secured, he went to rest.

However, the magistrates and council of Minturnæ concluded that Marius should immediately be put to death. No citizen would undertake this office ; but a dragoon, either a Gaul or a Cimbrian, (for both are mentioned in history) went up to him sword in hand, with an intent to dispatch him. The chamber in which he lay, was somewhat gloomy, and a light, they tell you, glanced from the eyes of Marius, which darted on the face of the assassin ; while at the same time he heard a solemn voice saying, "Dost thou dare to kill Marius?" Upon this the assassin threw down his sword and fled, crying, "I cannot kill Marius." The people of Minturnæ were struck with astonishment—pity and remorse ensued—should they put to death the preserver of Italy? was it not even a disgrace to them that they did not contribute to his relief? "Let him go," said they, "let the exile go, and await his destiny in some other region! It is time we should deprecate the anger of the gods, who have refused the poor, the naked wanderer the common privileges of hospitality!" Under the influence of this enthusiasm, they immediately conducted him to the sea-coast. Yet in the midst of their officious expedition they met with some delay. The Marician grove, which they hold sacred, and suffer nothing that enters it to be removed, lay immediately in their way.—Consequently they could not pass through it, and to go round it would be tedious. At last an old man of the company cried out, that no place, however religious, was inaccessible, if it could contribute to the preservation of Marius. No sooner had he said this, than he took some of the baggage in his hand, and marched through the place. The rest followed with the same alacrity, and when Marius came to the sea-coast, he found a vessel provided for him, by one Belæus. Some time after he presented a picture representing this event to the temple of Marica.² When Marius set sail, the wind drove him to the island of Æneria, where he found Granius and some other friends, and with them he sailed for Africa. Being in want of fresh water, they were obliged to put in at Sicily, where the Roman Quæstor kept such strict watch, that Marius very narrowly escaped, and no fewer than sixteen of the watermen were killed. From

¹ All that was extraordinary in this circumstance was, that the ass, like the sheep, is seldom seen to drink.

² Virgil mentions this nymph, *Æn* 7.
—*Et nymphæ penitus Laurente Mæ-
rææ.*

thence he immediately sailed for the island of Meninx, where he first heard that his son had escaped with Cethegus, and was gone to implore the succour of Hiempsal, king of Numidia. This gave him some encouragement, and immediately he ventured for Carthage.

The Roman governor in Africa, was Sextilius. He had neither received favour nor injury from Marius, but the exile hoped for something from his pity. He was just landed, with a few of his men, when an officer came and thus addressed him: "Marius, I come from the prætor Sextilius, to tell you, that he forbids you to set foot in Africa. If you obey not, he will support the senate's decree, and treat you as a public enemy." Marius, upon hearing this, was struck dumb with grief and indignation. He uttered not a word for some time, but stood regarding the officer with a menacing aspect. At length the officer asked him, what answer he should carry to the governor. "*Go and tell him," said the unfortunate man with a sigh, "that thou hast seen the exile Marius sitting on the ruins of Carthage."*¹ Thus in the happiest manner in the world, he proposed the fate of that city and his own as warnings to the prætor.

In the meantime, Hiempsal, king of Numidia, was unresolved how to act with respect to young Marius. He treated him in an honourable manner at his court, but whenever he desired leave to depart, found some pretence or other to detain him. At the same time it was plain, that these delays did not proceed from any intention of serving him. An accident, however, set him free. The young man was handsome. One of the king's concubines was affected with his misfortunes. Pity soon turned to love. At first he rejected the woman's advances. But when he saw no other way to gain his liberty, and found that her regards were rather delicate than gross, he accepted the tender of her heart; and by her means escaped with his friends, and came to his father.

After the first salutations, as they walked along the shore, they saw two scorpions fighting. This appeared to Marius an ill omen; they went, therefore, on board a fishing boat, and made for Cercina, an island not far distant from the continent. They were scarce got out to sea, when they saw a party of the king's horse on full speed towards the place where they embarked: so that Marius thought he never escaped a more instant danger.

He was now informed, that while Sylla was engaged in Bœotia with the lieutenants of Mithridates, a quarrel had happened between the consuls at Rome,² and that they had recourse to arms. Octavius, having the advantage, drove out Cinna, who was aiming at absolute power, and appointed Cornelius Merula consul in his room. Cinna collected forces in other parts of Italy, and maintained the war against them. Marius, upon this news, determined to hasten to Cinna. He took with him some Marusian horse,

¹ There is not, perhaps, anything more noble, or a greater proof of genius, than this saying, in Marius's whole life

² The year of Rome 686, B.C. 85. Cinna was for recalling the exiles, and Octavius was against it.

which he had levied in Africa, and a few others that were come to him from Italy, in all not amounting to above 1,000 men, and with this handful began his voyage. He arrived at a port of Tuscany called Telamon, and as soon as he was landed proclaimed liberty to the slaves. The name of Marius brought down numbers of freemen too, husbandmen, shepherds, and such like, to the shore; the ablest of which he enlisted, and in a short time had a great army on foot, with which he filled forty ships. He knew Octavius to be a man of good principles, and disposed to govern agreeably to justice, but Cinna was obnoxious to his enemy Sylla, and at that time in open war against the established government. He resolved, therefore, to join Cinna with all his forces. Accordingly he sent to acquaint him, that he considered him as consul, and was ready to obey his commands. Cinna accepted his offer, declared him proconsul, and sent him the *fasces* and other ensigns of authority. But Marius declined them, alleging, that such pomp did not become his ruined fortunes. Instead of that, *he wore a mean garment, and let his hair grow, as it had done from the day of his exile.* He was now, indeed, upwards of seventy years old, but he walked with a pace affectedly slow. This appearance was intended to excite compassion. Yet his native fierceness and something more, might be distinguished amidst all this look of misery. and it was evident that he was not so much humbled, as exasperated, by his misfortunes.

When he had saluted Cinna, and made a speech to the army, he immediately began his operations, and soon changed the face of affairs. In the first place, he cut off the enemy's convoys with his fleet, plundered their storeships, and made himself master of the bread-corn. In the next place, he coasted along, and seized the sea-port towns. At last, Ostia itself was betrayed to him. He pillaged the town, slew most of the inhabitants, and threw a bridge over the Tiber, to prevent the carrying of any provisions to Rome by sea. Then he marched to Rome, and posted himself upon the hill called Janiculum.

Meanwhile, the cause did not suffer so much by the incapacity of Octavius, as by his anxious and unseasonable attention to the laws. For, when many of his friends advised him to enfranchise the slaves, he said, "He would not grant such persons the freedom of that city, in defence of whose constitution he shut out Marius."

But upon the arrival of Metellus, the son of that Metellus who commanded in the African war, and was afterwards banished by Marius, the army within the walls leaving Octavius, applied to him, as the better officer, and entreated him to take the command; adding, that they should fight and conquer, when they had got an able and active general. Metellus, however, rejected their suit with indignation, and bade them go back to the consul; instead of which, they went over to the enemy. At the same time Metellus withdrew, giving up the city for lost.

As for Octavius, he stayed, at the persuasion of certain Chaldean diviners and expositors of the Sibylline books, who promised him

that all would be well. Octavius was indeed one of the most upright men among the Romans: he supported his dignity as consul, without giving any ear to flatterers and regarded the laws and ancient usages of his country as rules never to be departed from. Yet he had all the weakness of superstition and spent more of his time with fortune tellers and prognosticators than with men of political or military abilities. However, before Marius entered the city, Octavius was dragged from the tribunal and slain by persons commissioned for that purpose, and it is said that a Chaldean scheme was found in his bosom as he lay. It seems unaccountable, that of two such generals as Marius and Octavius, the one should be saved, and the other ruined, by a confidence in divination.

While affairs were in this posture, the senate assembled, and sent some of their own body to Cinna and Marius, with a request that they should come into the city, but spare the inhabitants. Cinna, as consul, received them, sitting in his chair of state, and gave them an obliging answer. But Marius stood by the consul's chair, and spoke not a word. He showed, however, by the gloominess of his look, and the menacing sense of his eye, that he would soon fill the city with blood. Immediately after this, they moved forwards towards Rome. Cinna entered the city with a strong guard, but Marius stopped at the gates, with a dissimulation dictated by his resentment. He said, "He was a banished man, and the laws prohibited his return. If his country wanted his service, she must repeal the law which drove him into exile. As if he had the real regard for the laws, or were entering a city still in possession of its liberty."

The people, therefore, were summoned to assemble for that purpose. But before three or four tribes had given their suffrages, he put off the mask, and, without waiting for the formality of a repeal, entered with a guard selected from the slaves that had repaired to his standard. These he called his *Bardiæans*¹. At the least word or sign given by Marius, they murdered all whom he marked for destruction. So that when Ancharius, a senator, and a man of prætorian dignity, saluted Marius, and he returned not the salutation, they killed him in his presence. After this, they considered it as a signal to kill any man, who saluted Marius in the streets, and was not taken any notice of: so that his very friends were seized with horror, whenever they went to pay their respects to him.

When they had butchered great numbers, Cinna's revenge began to pall: it was satiated with blood, but the fury of Marius seemed rather to increase: his appetite for slaughter was sharpened by indulgence, and he went on destroying all who gave him the least shadow of suspicion. Every road, every town was full of assassins, pursuing and haunting the unhappy victims.

On this occasion it was found, that no obligations of friendship,

¹ M. De Thou conjectured that we should read *Bardistes*: because there was

a fierce and barbarous people in Spain of that name: some who have written

no rights of hospitality can stand the shock of ill fortune. For there were very few who did not betray those that had taken refuge in their houses. The slaves of Cornutus, therefore, deserve the highest admiration. They hid their master in the house, and took a dead body out of the street from among the slain and hanged it by the neck; then they put a gold ring upon the finger, and showed the corpse in that condition to Marius's executioners; after which they dressed it for the funeral, and buried it as their master's body. No one suspected the matter; and Cornutus, after being concealed as long as it was necessary, was conveyed by those servants into Galatia.

Mark Antony the orator likewise found a faithful friend, but did not save his life by it. This friend of his was in a low station of life, however, as he had one of the greatest men of Rome under his roof, he entertained him in the best manner he could, and often sent to a neighbouring tavern for wine for him. The vintner finding that the servant who fetched it was something of a connoisseur in tasting the wine, and insisted on having better, asked him, "Why he was not satisfied with the common new wine he used to have, but wanted the best and the dearest?" The servant, in the simplicity of his heart, told him, as his friend and acquaintance, that the wine was for Mark Antony, who lay concealed in his master's house. As soon as he was gone, the knowing vintner went himself to Marius, who was then at supper; and told him he could put Antony into his power. Upon which, Marius clapped his hands in the agitation of joy, and would even have left his company, and gone to the place himself, had not he been dissuaded by his friends. However, he sent an officer named Annus, with some soldiers, and ordered him to bring the head of Antony. When they came to the house, Annus stood at the door, while the soldiers got up by a ladder into Antony's chamber. When they saw him, they encouraged each other to the execution; but such was the power of his eloquence, when he pleaded for his life, that so far from laying hands upon him, they stood motionless, with dejected eyes, and wept. During this delay, Annus goes up, beholds Antony addressing the soldiers, and the soldiers confounded by the force of his address. Upon this, he reproved them for their weakness, and with his own hand cut off the orator's head. Lutatius Catullus the colleague of Marius, who had jointly triumphed with him over the Cimbri, finding that every intercessory effort was vain, shut himself up in a narrow chamber, and suffered himself to be suffocated by the steam of a large coal fire. When the bodies were thrown out and trod upon in the streets, it was not pity they excited; it was horror and dismay. But what shocked the people much more, was the conduct of the Bardiæans who after they had murdered the masters of families, exposed the nakedness of their children, and indulged their passions with their wives. In short, their violence and rapacity were beyond all restraint, till Cinna and Sertorius determined in council to fall upon them in their sleep, and cut them off to a man.

At this time the tide of affairs took a sudden turn. News was brought that Sylla had put an end to the Mithridatic war, and that after having reduced the provinces, he was returning to Rome with a large army. This gave a short respite, a breathing from these inexpressible troubles ; as the apprehensions of war had been universally prevalent. Marius was now chosen consul the seventh time, and as he was walking out on the calends of January, the first day of the year, he ordered Sextus Lucinus to be seized, and thrown down the Tarpeian rock, a circumstance, which occasioned an unhappy presage of approaching evils. The consul himself, worn out with a series of misfortunes and distress, found his faculties fail, and trembled at the approach of wars and conflicts. For he considered that it was not an Octavius, a Merula, the desperate leaders of a small sedition, he had to contend with, but Sylla, the conqueror of Mithridates, and the banisher of Marius. Thus agitated, thus revolving the miseries, the flights, the dangers he had experienced both by land and sea, his inquietude affected him even by night, and a voice seemed continually to pronounce in his ear,

Dread are the slumbers of the distant lion.

Unable to support the painfulness of watching, he had recourse to the bottle, and gave in to those excesses which by no means suited his years. At last, when, by intelligence from sea, he was convinced of the approach of Sylla, his apprehensions were heightened to the greatest degree. The dread of his approach, the pain of continual anxiety, threw him into a pleuritic fever ; and in this state, Posidonius, the philosopher, tells us, he found him, when he went to speak to him on some affairs of his embassy. But Caius Piso the historian relates, that walking out with his friends one evening at supper, he gave them a short history of his life, and after expatiating on the uncertainty of fortune, concluded that it was beneath the dignity of a wise man to live in subjection to that fickle deity. Upon this, he took leave of his friends, and betaking himself to his bed, died seven days after. There are those who impute his death to the excess of his ambition, which, according to their account, threw him into a delirium ; insomuch that he fancied he was carrying on the war against Mithridates, and uttered all the expressions used in an engagement. Such was the violence of his ambition for that command.

Thus, at the age of seventy, distinguished by the unparalleled honour of seven consulships, and possessed of more than regal fortune, Marius died with the chagrin of an unfortunate wretch, who had not obtained what he wanted.

Plato, at the point of death, congratulated himself, in the first place, that he was born a man ; in the next place, that he had the happiness of being a Greek, not a brute or barbarian ; and last of all, that he was the contemporary of Sophocles. Antipater of Tarsus, too, a little before his death, recollected the several advantages of his life, not forgetting even his successful voyage to Athens. In settling his accounts with Fortune, he carefully entered every

agreeable circumstance in that excellent book of the mind, his memory. How much wiser, how much happier than those, who, forgetful of every blessing they have received, hang on the vain and deceitful hand of hope, and while they are idly grasping at future acquisitions, neglect the enjoyment of the present : though the future gifts of fortune are not in their power, and though their present possessions are not in the power of fortune, they look up to the former and neglect the latter. Their punishment, however, is not less just than it is certain. Before philosophy and the cultivation of reason have laid a proper foundation for the management of wealth and power, they pursue them with that avidity, which must for ever harass an undisciplined mind.

Marius died on the seventeenth day of his seventh consulship. His death was productive of the greatest joy in Rome, and the citizens looked upon it as an event that freed them from the worst of tyrannies. It was not long, however, before they found that they had changed an old and feeble tyrant, for one who had youth and vigour to carry his cruelties into execution. Such they found the son of Marius, whose sanguinary spirit showed itself in the destruction of numbers of the nobility. His martial intrepidity and ferocious behaviour at first procured him the title of the son of Mars, but his conduct afterwards denominated him the son of Venus. When he was besieged in Pieneste, and had tried every little artifice to escape, he put an end to his life, that he might not fall into the hands of Sylla.

SYLLA.

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA was of a patrician family. One of his ancestors, named Rufinus,¹ is said to have been consul, but to have fallen under a disgrace more than equivalent to that honour. *He was found to have in his possession more than ten pounds of plate, which the law did not allow, and for that was expelled the senate.* Hence it was, that his posterity continued in a low and obscure condition, and Sylla himself was born to a very scanty fortune. Even after he was grown up, he lived in hired lodgings, for which he paid but a small consideration, and afterwards he was reproached with it, when he was risen to such opulence as he had no reason to expect. For one day, as he was boasting of the great things he had done in Africa, a person of character made answer, "How canst thou be an honest man, who art master of such a fortune, though thy father

¹ Publius Cornelius Rufinus was twice consul the first time in the year of Rome 463 and the second thirteen years after. He was expelled the senate two years after his second consulship, when Q. Fabius Lucinus, and Caius Atilius

Papirius were censors. Velleius Paterculus tells us Sylla was the sixth in descent from this Rufinus, which might very well be, for between the first consulship of Rufinus and the first campaign of Sylla there was a space of 168 years.

left thee nothing?" It seems, though the Romans at that time did not retain their ancient integrity and purity of manners, but were degenerated into luxury and expense, yet they considered it as no less disgraceful to have departed from family poverty, than to have spent a paternal estate. And a long time after, when Sylla had made himself absolute, and put numbers to death, a man who was only the second of his family that was free, being condemned to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock, for concealing a friend of his that was in the proscription, spoke of Sylla in this upbraiding manner—"I am his old acquaintance; we lived long under the same roof: I hired the upper apartment at 2000 sesterces, and he that under me at 3000." So that the difference between their fortunes was then only 1000 sesterces, which in Attican money is 250 drachmas.

As to his figure, we have the whole of it in his statues, except his eyes. They were of a lively blue, fierce and menacing; and the ferocity of his aspect was heightened by his complexion, which was a strong red, interspersed with spots of white. From his complexion, they tell us, he had the name of Sylla;¹ and an Athenian droll drew the following jest from it:

"Sylla's a mulberry strew'd o'er with meal."

Nor is it foreign to make these observations upon a man, who in his youth, before he emerged from obscurity was such a lover of drollery, that he spent his time with mimics and jesters, and went with them every length of riot. Nay, when in the height of his power, he would collect the most noted players and buffoons every day, and, in a manner unsuitable to his age and dignity, drink and join with them in licentious wit, while business of consequence lay neglected. Indeed, Sylla would never admit of anything serious at his table; and though at other times a man of business, and rather grave and austere in his manner, he would change instantaneously, whenever he had company, and begin a carousal. So that to buffoons and dancers he was the most affable man in the world, the most easy of access, and they moulded him just as they pleased.

To this dissipation may be imputed his libidinous attachments, his disorderly and infamous love of pleasure, which stuck by him even in age. One of his mistresses, named Nicopolis, was a courtesan, but very rich. She was so taken with his company and the beauty of his person, that she entertained a real passion for him, and at her death appointed him her heir. His mother-in-law, who loved him as her own son, likewise left him her estate. With these additions to his fortune, he was tolerably provided for.

He was appointed quæstor to Marius in his first consulship, and went over with him into Africa to carry on the war with Jugurtha. In the military department he gained great honour, and, among other things, availed himself of an opportunity to make a friend of Bocchus, king of Numidia. The ambassadors of that prince had just escaped out of the hands of robbers, and were in a very in-

¹ *Sil* or *Syl* is a yellow kind of earth, which, when burned, becomes red. Hence

Syllaceus color in *Vitruvius* signifies purple.

different condition, when Sylla gave them the most humane reception, loaded them with presents, and sent them back with a strong guard

Bocchus, who for a long time had both hated and feared his son-in-law Jugurtha, had him then at his court. He had taken refuge there after his defeat, and Bocchus, now meditating to betray him, chose rather to let Sylla seize him than to deliver him up himself. Sylla communicated the affair to Marius, and taking a small party with him, set out upon the expedition, dangerous as it was. What, indeed, could be more so, than in hopes of getting another man into his power to trust himself with a barbarian who was treacherous to his own relations? In fact, when Bocchus saw them at his disposal, and that he was under a necessity to betray either the one or the other, he debated long with himself which should be the victim. At last, he determined to abide by his first resolution, and gave up Jugurtha into the hands of Sylla.

He procured Marius a triumph, but envy ascribed all the glory of it to Sylla, which Marius in his heart not a little resented. Especially when he found that Sylla, who was naturally fond of fame, and from a low and obscure condition now came to general esteem, let his ambition carry him so far as to give orders for a signet to be engraved with a representation of this adventure, which he constantly used in sealing his letters. The device was, Bocchus delivering up Jugurtha, and Sylla receiving him.

This touched Marius to the quick. However, as he thought Sylla not considerable enough to be the object of envy, he continued to employ him in his wars. Thus, in his second consulship, he made him one of his lieutenants, and in his third gave him the command of 1000 men. Sylla, in these several capacities, performed many important services. In that of lieutenant, he took Copillus, chief of the Tectosagæ, prisoner, and in that of tribune, he persuaded the great and populous nation of the Marsi to declare themselves friends and allies of the Romans. But finding Marius uneasy at his success, and that, instead of giving him new occasions to distinguish himself, he rather opposed his advancement, he applied to Catullus the colleague of Marius.

Catullus was a worthy man, but wanted the vigour which is necessary for action. He therefore employed Sylla in the most difficult enterprises, which opened him a fine field both of honour and power. He subdued most of the barbarians that inhabited the Alps, and in a time of scarcity undertook to procure a supply of provisions, which he performed so effectually, that there was not only abundance in the camp of Catullus, but the overplus served to relieve that of Marius.

Sylla himself writes, that Marius was greatly afflicted at this circumstance. From so small and childish a cause did that enmity spring, which afterwards grew up in blood, and was nourished by civil wars and the rage of faction, till it ended in tyranny and the confusion of the whole state. This shows how wise a man Eurpides was, and how well he understood the distempers of government,

when he called upon mankind to beware of ambition (*Phænissa*, v 534), as the most destructive of demons to those that worship her.

Sylla by this time thought the glory he had acquired in war sufficient to procure him a share in the administration, and therefore immediately left the camp, to go and make his court to the people. The office he solicited was that of the *city praetorship*, but he failed in the attempt. The reason he assigns is this: the people, he says, knowing the friendship between him and Bocchus, expected, if he was ædile before his prætorship, that he would treat them with magnificent huntings and combats of African wild beasts, and on that account chose other prætors, that he might be forced upon the ædileship. But the subsequent events showed the cause alleged by Sylla not to be the true one. For the year following (A.U.C. 657) he got himself elected prætor, partly by his assiduities, and partly by his money. While he bore that office, he happened to be provoked at Cæsar, and said to him angrily, "I will use *my* authority against you." Cæsar answered, laughing, "You do well to call it *yours*, for you bought it."

After his prætorship he was sent into Cappadocia. His pretence for that expedition was the re-establishment of Ariobarzanes, but his real design was to restrain the enterprising spirit of Mithridates, who was gaining himself dominions no less respectable than his paternal ones. He did not take many troops with him out of Italy, but availed himself of the service of the allies, whom he found well affected to the cause. With these he attacked the Cappadocians, and cut in pieces great numbers of them, and still more of the Armenians, who came to their succour in consequence of which Gordius was driven out, and Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom.

During his encampment on the banks of the Euphrates, Orobazus came ambassador to him from Arsaces, king of Parthia. There had as yet been no intercourse between the two nations, and it must be considered as a circumstance of Sylla's good fortune that he was the first Roman to whom the Parthians applied for friendship and alliance. At the time of audience, he is said to have ordered three chairs, one for Ariobarzanes, one for Orobazus, and another in the middle for himself. Orobazus was afterwards put to death by the king of Parthia, for submitting so far to a Roman. As for Sylla, some commended his lofty behaviour to the barbarians, while others blamed it, as insolent and out of season.

It is reported, that a certain Chalcidian,¹ in the train of Orobazus, looked at Sylla's face, and observed very attentively the turn of his ideas and the motions of his body. These he compared with the rules of his art, and then declared, "That he must infallibly be one day the greatest of men, and that it was strange, he could bear to be anything less at present."

¹ This must have been Sextus Julius Cæsar who was consul four years after Sylla's prætorship. Caius Julius Cæsar was only four years old when Sylla was prætor.

² Of Chalcis the metropolis of Chalcedone in Asia. If Ptolemy did not rather write Chalcidæan.

At his return, Censorinus prepared to accuse him of extortion, for drawing, contrary to law, vast sums from a kingdom thit was in alliance with Rome. He did not, however, bring it to a trial, but dropped the intended impeachment.

The quarrel between Sylla and Marius broke out afresh on the following occasion. Bocchus, to make his court to the people of Rome, and to Sylla at the same time, was so officious as to dedicate several images of victory in the Capitol, and close by them a figure of Jugurtha in gold, in the form he had delivered him up to Sylla. Marius, unable to digest the affront, prepared to pull them down, and Sylla's friends were determined to hinder it. Between them both the whole city was set in a flame, when the confederate war, which had long lain smothered, broke out, and for the present put a stop to the sedition.

In this great war, which was so various in its fortune, and brought so many mischiefs and dangers upon the Romans, it appeared from the small execution Marius did, that military skill requires a strong and vigorous constitution to second it. Sylla, on the other hand, performed so many memorable things, that the citizens looked upon him as a great general, his friends as the greatest in the world, and his enemies as the most fortunate. Nor did he behave, with respect to that nation, like Timotheus the son of Conon. The enemies of that Athenian ascribed all his success to fortune and got a picture drawn, in which he was represented asleep, and Fortune by his side taking cities for him in her net. Upon this he gave way to an indecent passion, and complained that he was robbed of the glory due to his achievements. Nay, afterwards, on his return from a certain expedition, he addressed the people in these terms—"My fellow-citizens you must acknowledge that in this, Fortune has no share." It is said, the goddess piqued herself so far on being revenged on this vanity of Timotheus, that he could never do anything extraordinary afterwards, but was baffled in all his undertakings, and became so obnoxious to the people, that they banished him.

Sylla took a different course. It not only gave him pleasure to hear his success imputed to Fortune, but he encouraged the opinion, thinking it added in an of greatness, and even divinity to his actions. Whether he did this out of vanity, or from a real persuasion of its truth we cannot say. However, he writes in his Commentaries, "That his instantaneous resolutions, and enterprises executed in a manner different from what he had intended, always succeeded better than those on which he bestowed the most time and forethought." It is plain too from that saying of his, "That he was born rather for fortune than war," that he attributed more to fortune than to valour. In short, he makes himself entirely the creature of Fortune, since he ascribes to her divine influence the good understanding that always subsisted between him and Metellus, a man in the same sphere of life with himself, and his father-in-law. For, whereas he expected to find him a man troublesome in office, he proved on the contrary a quiet and obliging colleague. Add to this,

that in the Commentaries inscribed to Lucullus, *he advises him to depend upon nothing more than that which Heaven directed to him in the visions of the night*. He tells us further, that when he was sent at the head of an army against the confederates, the earth opened on a sudden near Lavinia,¹ and that there issued out of the chasm, which was very large, a vast quantity of fire, and a flame that shot up to the heavens. The soothsayers being consulted upon it, made answer, "That a person of courage and superior beauty, should take the reins of government into his hands, and suppress the tumults with which Rome was then agitated." Sylla says, he was the man, for his locks of gold were sufficient proof of his beauty, and that he needed not hesitate, after so many great actions to avow himself a man of courage.

In other respects he was not so consistent with himself. Rapi- cious in a high degree, but still more liberal, in preferring or disgracing whom he pleased, equally unaccountable, submissive to those who might be of service to him, and severe to those who wanted services from him, so that it was hard to say whether he was more insolent or servile in his nature. Such was his inconsistency in punishing that he would sometimes put men to the most cruel tortures on the slightest grounds and sometimes overlook the greatest crimes, he would easily take some persons into favour after the most unpardonable offences, while he took vengeance of others for small and trifling faults by death and confiscation of goods. These things cannot be otherwise reconciled, than by concluding that he was severe and vindictive in his temper, but occasionally checked those inclinations, where his own interest was concerned.

In this very war with the confederates, his soldiers despatched, with clubs and stones, a lieutenant of his, named Albinus, who had been honoured with the prætorship, yet he suffered them, after such a crime, to escape with impunity. He only took occasion from thence to boast, that he should find they would exert themselves more during the rest of the war, because they would endeavour to atone for that offence by extraordinary acts of valour. The censure he incurred on this occasion did not affect him. His great object was the destruction of Marius, and finding that (A U C 665, the confederate war was drawing towards an end, he paid his court to the army, that he might be appointed general against Marius. Upon his return to Rome he was erected consul with Quinctius Pompeius, being then fifty years old and at the same time he entered into an advantageous marriage with Cæcilia, daughter of Metellus the high priest. This match occasioned a good deal of popular censure. Sarcastical songs were made upon it and according to Livy's account, many of the principal citizens invidiously thought him unworthy of that alliance, though they had not thought him unworthy of the consulship. This lady was not his first wife, for in the early part of his life he married Itha, by whom he had a daughter,

¹ In the Salarian way there was a grove and temple consecrated to the goddess Lavinia.

afterwards he espoused *Elia*, and after her *Cœlia*, whom, on account of her barrenness, he repudiated, without any other marks of disgrace, and dismissed with valuable presents. However, as he soon after married *Metella*, the dismissal of *Cœlia* became the object of censure. *Metella* he always treated with the utmost respect, insomuch that when the people of Rome were desirous that he should recall the exiles of *Marius's* party, and could not prevail with him, they entreated *Metella* to use her good offices for them. It was thought, too, that when he took Athens, that city had harder usage, because the inhabitants had jested vilely on *Metella* from the walls.

The consulship was now but of small consideration with him in comparison of what he had in view. His heart was fixed on obtaining the conduct of the *Mithridatic* war. In this respect he had a rival in *Marius*, who was possessed with an ill timed ambition and madness for fame passions which never grow old. Though now unwieldy in his person, and obliged, on account of his age, to give up his share in the expeditions near home, he wanted the direction of foreign wars. This man, watching his opportunity in Rome, when *Sylla* was gone to the camp to settle some matters that remained unfinished, fanned that fatal sedition, which hurt her more effectually than all the wars she had ever been engaged in. Heaven sent prodigies to prefigure it. Fire blazed out of its own accord from the ensign staves, and was with difficulty extinguished. Three ravens brought their young into the city, and devoured them there, and then carried the remains back to their nests. Some rats having gnawed the consecrated gold in a certain temple, the sacristans caught one of them in a trap, where she brought forth five young ones, and eat three of them. And what was most considerable, one day, when the sky was serene and clear, there was heard in it a sound of a trumpet, so loud, so shrill, and mournful, that it frightened and astonished all the world. The *Tuscan* sages said it portended a new race of men, and a renovation of the world. For they observed, that there were eight several kinds of men, all different in life and manners. That Heaven had allotted each its time, which was limited by the circuit of the great year, and that when one came to a period, and another race was rising, it was announced by some wonderful sign either from earth or from heaven. So that it was evident, at one view, to those who attended to these things, and were versed in them, that a new sort of men was come into the world, with other manners and customs, and more or less the care of the gods than those who preceded them. They added, that in this revolution of ages many strange alterations happened. That divination, for instance, should be held in great honour in some one age, and prove successful in all its predictions, because the Deity afforded pure and perfect signs to proceed by, whereas in another it should be in small repute, being mostly extemporeaneous, and calculating future events from uncertain and obscure principles. Such was the mythology of the most learned and respectable of the *Tuscan* soothsayers. While the senate were attending to their

interpretations in the temple of Bellona, a sparrow, in sight of the whole body, brought in a grasshopper in her mouth, and after she had torn it in two, left one part among them, and carried the other off. The diviners declared, they apprehended from this a dangerous sedition, and dispute between the town and the country. For the inhabitants of the town are noisy like the grasshopper, and those of the country are domestic beings like the sparrow.

Soon after this Marius got Sulpitius to join him. This man was inferior to none in desperate attempts. Indeed, instead of inquiring for another more emphatically wicked, you must ask in what instance of wickedness he exceeded himself. He was a compound of cruelty, impudence, and avarice, and he could commit the most horrid and infamous of crimes in cold blood. He sold the freedom of Rome openly to persons that had been slaves, as well as to strangers, and had the money told out upon a table in the forum. He had always about him a guard of 300 men well armed, and a company of young men of the equestrian order, whom he called his antiscenate. Though he got a law made, that no senator should contract debts to the amount of more than 2000 drachmas, yet it appeared at his death that he owed more than three millions. This wretch was let loose upon the people by Marius, and carried all before him by dint of sword. Among other bad edicts which he procured, one was that which gave the command in the Mithridatic war to Marius. Upon this the consuls ordered all the courts to be shut up. But one day as they were holding an assembly before the temple of Castor and Pollux, he set his ruffians upon them, and many were slain. The son of Pompey the consul, who was yet but a youth, was of the number, Pompey concealed himself, and saved his life. Sylla was pursued into the house of Marius, and forced from thence to the forum, to revoke the order for the cessation of public business. For this reason Sulpitius, when he deprived Pompey of the consulship, continued Sylla in it, and only transferred the conduct of the war with Mithridates to Marius. In consequence of this, he immediately sent some military tribunes to Nola, to receive the army at the hands of Sylla, and bring it to Marius. But Sylla got before them to the camp, and his soldiers were no sooner acquainted with the commission of those officers than they stoned them to death.

Marius in return dipped his hands in the blood of Sylla's friends in Rome, and ordered their houses to be plundered. Nothing now was to be seen but hurry and confusion, some flying from the camp to the city, and some from the city to the camp. The senate were no longer free, but under the direction of Marius and Sulpitius. So that when they were informed that Sylla was marching towards Rome, they sent two prætors, Brutus and Servilius, to stop him. As they delivered their orders with some haughtiness to Sylla, the soldiers prepared to kill them, but at last contented themselves with breaking their fasces, tearing off their robes, and sending them away with every mark of disgrace.

The very sight of them, robbed as they were of the ensigns of

their authority, spread sorrow and consternation in Rome, and announced a sedition, for which there was no longer either restraint or remedy. Marius prepared to repel force with force. Sylla moved from Nola at the head of six complete legions, and had his colleague along with him. His army, he saw, was ready at the first word to march to Rome, but he was unresolved in his own mind, and apprehensive of the danger. However, upon his offering sacrifice, the soothsayer Posthumius had no sooner inspected the entrails, than he stretched out both his hands to Sylla, and proposed to be kept in chains till after the battle, in order for the worst of punishments, if everything did not soon succeed entirely to the general's wish. It is said, too, that there appeared to Sylla in a dream, the goddess whose worship the Romans received from the Cappadocians, whether it be the Moon, Minerva, or Bellona. She seemed to stand by him, and put thunder in his hand, and having called his enemies by name one after another, bade him strike them: they fell, and were consumed by it to ashes. Encouraged by this vision, which he related next morning to his colleague, he took his way towards Rome.

When he had reached Picinæ,¹ he was met by an embassy, that entreated him not to advance in that hostile manner, since the senate had come to a resolution to do him all the justice he could desire. He promised to grant all they asked; and, as if he intended to encamp there, ordered his officers, as usual, to mark out the ground. The ambassadors took their leave with entire confidence in his honour. But as soon as they were gone, he despatched Basillus and Caius Mummius, to make themselves masters of the gate and the wall by the Æsculine mount. He himself followed with the utmost expedition. Accordingly Basillus and his party seized the gate and entered the city. But the unarmed multitude got upon the tops of the houses, and with stones and tiles drove them back to the foot of the wall. At that moment Sylla arrived, and seeing the opposition his soldiers met with, called out to them to set fire to the houses. He took a flaming torch in his own hands, and advanced before them. At the same time he ordered his archers to shoot fire-arrows at the roofs. Reason had no longer any power over him; passion and fury governed all his motions; his enemies were all he thought of; and in the thirst for vengeance, he made no account of his friends, nor took the least compassion on his relations. Such was the case, when he made his way with fire, which makes no distinction between the innocent and the guilty.

Meanwhile, Marius, who was driven back to the temple of Vesta, proclaimed liberty to the slaves that would repair to his standard. But the enemy pressed on with so much vigour, that he was forced to quit the city.

¹ There being no place between Nola and Rome called Picinæ, Lubinus thinks we should read Pietæ, which was a place

of public entertainment about 26 miles from the capital. Strabo and Antoninus (in his Itinerary) mention it as such.

Sylla immediately assembled the senate, and got Marius, and a few others, condemned to death. The tribune Sulpitius, who was of the number, was betrayed by one of his own slaves, and brought to the block. Sylla gave the slave his freedom, and then had him thrown down the Tarpeian rock. As for Marius, he set a price upon his head, in which he behaved neither with gratitude nor good policy, since he had not long before fled into the house of Marius, and put his life in his hands, and yet was dismissed in safety. Had Marius, instead of letting him go, given him up to Sulpitius, who thirsted for his blood, he might have been absolute master of Rome. But he spared his enemy, and a few days after, when there was an opportunity for his return, met not with the same generous treatment.

The senate did not express the concern which this gave them. But the people openly and by facts showed their resentment and resolution to make reprisals. For they rejected his nephew Nonius, who relied on his recommendation, and his fellow-candidate Servius, in an ignominious manner, and appointed others to the consulship, whose promotion they thought would be most disagreeable to him. Sylla pretended great satisfaction at the thing, and said, "He was quite happy to see the people by his means enjoy the liberty of proceeding as they thought proper." Nay, to obviate their hatred, he proposed Lucius Cinna, who was of the opposite faction, for consul, but first laid him under the sanction of a solemn oath, to assist him in all his affairs. Cinna went up to the Capitol with a stone in his hand. There he swore before all the world, to preserve the friendship between them inviolable, adding *this imprecation*, "*If I be guilty of any breach of it, may I be driven from the city, as this stone is from my hand!*" at the same time he threw the stone upon the ground. Yet, as soon as he was entered upon his office, he began to raise new commotions, and set up an impeachment against Sylla, of which Verginius, one of the tribunes, was to be the manager. But Sylla left both the manager and the impeachment behind him and set forward against Mithridates.

About the time that Sylla set sail from Italy, Mithridates, we are told, was visited with many ill presages at Pergamus. Among the rest an image of Victory, bearing a crown, which was contrived to be let down by a machine, broke just as it was going to put the crown upon his head, and the crown itself was dashed to pieces upon the floor of the theatre. The people of Pergamus were seized with astonishment, and Mithridates felt no small concern, though his affairs then prospered beyond his hopes. For he had taken Asia from the Romans, and Bithynia and Cappadocia from their respective kings, and was set down in quiet at Pergamus, disposing of rich governments and kingdoms among his friends at pleasure. As for his sons, the eldest governed in peace the ancient kingdoms of Pontus and Bosphorus, extending as far as the deserts above the Mæotic lake, the other, named Ariarthes, was subduing Thrace and Macedonia with a great arm. His generals with their armies were reducing other considerable places. The principal of these

was Archelaus, who commanded the seas with his fleet, was conquering the Cyclades, and all the other islands within the bay of Malea, and was master of Eubœa itself. He met, indeed, with some check at Charonea. There Brutus Sura, lieutenant to Sentius, who commanded in Macedonia, a man distinguished by his courage and capacity, opposed Archelaus, who was overflowing Boeotia like a torrent, defeated him in three engagements near Charonea, and confined him again to the sea. But, as Lucius Lucullus came and ordered him to give place to Sylla, to whom that province, and the conduct of the war there, were decreed, he immediately quitted Boeotia, and returned to Sentius, though his success was beyond all that he could have flattered himself with, and Greece was ready to declare again for the Romans on account of his valour and conduct. These were the most shining actions of Brutus's life.

When Sylla was arrived, the cities sent ambassadors with an offer of opening their gates to him. Athens alone was held by its tyrant Aristion for Mithridates. He therefore attacked it with the utmost vigour, invested the Piræus, brought up all sorts of engines, and left no kind of assault whatever unattempted. Had he waited a while, he might without the least danger have taken the upper town, which was already reduced by famine to the last extremity. But his haste to return to Rome, where he apprehended some change in affairs to his prejudice, made him run every risk, and spare neither men nor money, to bring this war to a conclusion. For, besides his other warlike equipage, he had 10,000 yoke of mules, which worked every day at the engines. As wood began to fail, by reason of the immense weights which broke down his machines, or then being burned by the enemy, he cut down the sacred groves. The shady walks of the Academy and the Lycæum in the suburbs fell before his axe. And as the war required vast sums of money to support it, he scrupled not to violate the holy treasures of Greece, but took from Epidaurus, as well as Olympia, the most beautiful and precious of their gifts. He wrote also to the Amphictyones at Delphi, "That it would be best for them to put the treasures of Apollo in his hands: for either he would keep them safer than he could, or, if he applied them to his own use, would return the full value." Caphis the Phocian, one of his friends, was sent upon this commission, and ordered to have everything weighed to him. Caphis went to Delphi, but was loath to touch the sacred deposits, and lamented to the Amphictyones the necessity he was under with many tears. Some said, they heard the sound of the lyre in the inmost sanctuary, and Caphis, either believing it, or willing to strike Sylla with a religious terror, sent him an account of it. But he wrote back in a jesting way, "That he was surprised Caphis should not know that music was the voice of joy, and not of resentment. He might, therefore, boldly take the treasures, since Apollo gave him them with the utmost satisfaction."

These treasures were carried off, without being seen by many of the Greeks. But, of the royal offering, there remained a silver urn, which being so large and heavy, that no carriage could bear it, the

Amphictyones were obliged to cut it in pieces. At sight of this, they called to mind, one while, Flaminius and Manius Acilius, and another while, Paulus Æmilius; one of which having driven Antiochus out of Greece, and the other subdued the kings of Macedonia, not only kept their hands from spoiling the Grecian temples, but expressed their regard and reverence for them by adding new gifts. Those great men, indeed, were legally commissioned, and their soldiers were persons of sober minds, who had learned to obey their generals without murmuring. The generals, with the magnanimity of kings, exceeded not private persons in their expenses, nor brought upon the state any charge but what was common and reasonable. In short, they thought it no less disgrace to flatter their own men, than to be afraid of the enemy. But the commanders of these times raised themselves to high posts by force, not by merit; and as they wanted soldiers to fight their countrymen rather than any foreign enemies, they were obliged to treat them with great complaisance. *While they thus bought their service, at the price of ministering to their vices, they were not aware that they were selling their country; and making themselves slaves to the meanest of mankind, in order to command the greatest and the best.* This banished Marius from Rome, and afterwards brought him back against Sylla. This made Cinna dip his hands in the blood of Octavius, and Fimbria the assassin of Flaccus.

Sylla opened one of the first sources of this corruption. For, to draw the troops of other officers from them, he lavishly supplied the wants of his own. Thus, while by one and the same means he was inviting the former to desertion, and the latter to luxury, he had occasion for infinite sums, and particularly in this siege. For his passion for taking Athens was irresistibly violent: whether it was, that he wanted to fight against *that city's ancient renown, of which nothing but the shadow now remained*; or whether he could not bear the scoffs and taunts, with which Aristion, in all the wantonness of ribaldry, insulted him and Metella from the walls.

The composition of this tyrant's heart was insolence and cruelty. He was the sink of all the follies and vices of Mithridates. Poor Athens, which had got clear of innumerable wars, tyrannies, and seditions, perished at last by this monster, as by a deadly disease. A bushel of wheat was now sold there for 1,000 drachmas. The people ate not only the herbs and roots that grew about the citadel, but sodden leather and oil bags; while he was indulging himself in riotous feasts and dancing in the day-time, or mimicking and laughing at the enemy. He let the sacred lamp of the goddess go out for want of oil, and when the principal priestess sent to ask him for half a measure of barley, he sent her that quantity of pepper. The senators and priests came to entreat him to take compassion on the city, and capitulate with Sylla, but he received them with a shower of arrows. At last when it was too late, he agreed with much difficulty to send two or three of the companions of his riots to treat of peace. These, instead of making any proposals that tended to save the city, talked in a lofty manner about Theseus, and

Eumolpus, and the conquest of the Medes ; which provoked Sylla to say, "Go, my noble souls, and take back your fine speeches with you. For my part, I was not sent to Athens to learn its anti-
quities, but to chastise its rebellious people."

In the meantime, Sylla's spies heard some old men, who were conversing together in the Ceramicus, blame the tyrant for not securing the wall near the Heptachalcos, which was the only place not impregnable. They carried this news to Sylla ; and he, far from disregarding it, went by night to take a view of that part of the wall, and found that it might be scaled. He then set immediately about it ; and he tells us in his Commentaries, that Marcus Teius¹ was the first man who mounted the wall. Teius there met with an adversary, and gave him such a violent blow on the skull that he broke his sword ; notwithstanding which he stood firm and kept his place.

Athens,² therefore, was taken, as the old men had foretold. Sylla having levelled with the ground all that was between the Piræean gate and that called the Sacred, entered the town at midnight, in a manner the most dreadful that can be conceived. All the trumpets and horns sounded, and were answered by the shouts and clang of the soldiers, let loose to plunder and destroy. They rushed along the streets with drawn swords, and horrible was the slaughter they made. The number of the killed could not be computed ; but we may form some judgment of it, by the quantity of ground which was overflowed with blood. For, besides those that fell in other parts of the city, the blood that was shed in the market-place only, covered all the Ceramicus as far as Dipylon. Nay, there are several who assure us, it ran through the gates, and overspread the suburbs.

But though such numbers were put to the sword, there were as many who laid violent hands upon themselves, in grief for their sinking country. What reduced the best men among them to this despair of finding any mercy or moderate terms for Athens, was the well-known cruelty of Sylla. Yet partly by the intercession of Midias and Calliphon, and the exiles who threw themselves at his feet, partly by the entreaties of the senators who attended him in that expedition, and being himself satiated with blood besides, he was at last prevailed upon to stop his hand ; and, in compliment to the ancient Athenians, he said, "*He forgave the many for the sake of the few, the living for the dead.*"

He tells us in his Commentaries, that he took Athens on the calends of March, which falls in with the new moon in the month Anthesterion ; when the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the destruction of the country by water ; for the deluge was believed to have happened about that time of the year.³

The city thus taken, the tyrant retired into the citadel, and was

¹ Probably it should be Ateius. In the life of Crassus one Ateius is mentioned as a tribune of the people.

² Athens was taken 84 years B.C.

³ The deluge of Ogyges happened in Attica near 1,700 years before.

besieged there by Curio, to whom Sylla gave that charge. He held out a considerable time, but at last was forced to surrender for want of water. In this the hand of Heaven was very visible. For the very same day and hour that Aristion was brought out, the sky, which before was perfectly serene, grew black with clouds, and such a quantity of rain fell, as quite overflowed the citadel. Soon after this, Sylla made himself master of the Piræus; the most of which he laid in ashes, and among the rest, that admirable work, the arsenal, built by Philo.

During these transactions, Taxiles, Mithridates's general, came down from Thrace and Macedonia, with 100,000 foot, 10,000 horse, and 90 chariots armed with scythes, and sent to desire Archelaus to meet him there. Archelaus had then his station at Munychia, and neither chose to quit the sea, nor yet fight the Romans, but was persuaded his part was to protract the war, and to cut off the enemy's convoys. Sylla saw better than he the distress he might be in for provisions, and therefore moved from that barren country, which was scarce sufficient to maintain his troops in time of peace, and led them into Bæotia. Most people thought this an error in his counsels, to quit the rocks of Attica where horse could hardly act, and to expose himself on the large and open plains of Bæotia, when he knew the chief strength of the barbarians consisted in cavalry and chariots. But to avoid hunger and famine, he was forced to hazard a battle. Besides, he was in pain for Hortensius, a man of great and enterprising spirit, who was bringing him considerable reinforcements from Thessaly, and was watched by the barbarians in the straits. As for Hortensius, Caphis, a countryman of ours, led him another way, and disappointed the barbarians. He conducted him by mount Parnassus to Tithora, which is now a large city, but was then only a fort situated on the brow of a steep precipice, where the Phocians of old took refuge, when Xerxes invaded their country. Hortensius, having pitched his tents there, in the day-time kept off the enemy: and in the night made his way down the broken rocks to Patronis, where Sylla met him with all his forces.

Thus united, they took possession of a fertile hill, in the middle of the plains of Elateia, well sheltered with trees, and watered at the bottom. It is called Philobæotus, and is much commended by Sylla for the fruitfulness of its soil and its agreeable situation. When they were encamped, they appeared to the enemy no more than a handful. They had not indeed above 1,500 horse, and not quite 15,000 foot. The other generals in a manner forced Archelaus upon action; and when they came to put their forces in order of battle, they filled the whole plain with horses, chariots, bucklers, and targets. The clamour and hideous roar of so many nations, ranked thick together, seemed to rend the sky; and the pomp and splendour of their appearance was not without its use in exciting terror. For the lustre of their arms, which were richly adorned with gold and silver, and the colours of their Median and Scythian vests, intermixed with brass and polished steel, when the troops

were in motion, kindled the air with an awful flame like that of lightning.

The Romans, in great consternation, shut themselves up within their trenches. Sylla could not with all his arguments remove their fears; and as he did not choose to force them into the field in this dispirited condition, he sat still, and bore, though with great reluctance, the vain boasts and insults of the barbarians. This was of more service to him than any other measure he could have adopted. The enemy, who held him in great contempt, and were not before very obedient to their own generals, by reason of their number now forgot all discipline, and but few of them remained within their entrenchments. Invited by rapine and plunder, the greatest part had dispersed themselves, and were got several days' journey from the camp. In these excursions, it is said, they ruined the city of Panopea, sacked Lebadia, and pillaged a temple where oracles were delivered without orders from any one of their generals.

Sylla, full of sorrow and indignation to have these cities destroyed before his eyes, was willing to try what effect labour would have upon his soldiers. He compelled them to dig trenches, to draw the Cephissus from its channel, and made them work at it without intermission; standing inspector himself, and severely punishing all whom he found remiss. His view in this was to tire them with labour, that they might give the preference to danger; and it answered the end he proposed. On the third day of their drudgery, as Sylla passed by, they called out to lead them against the enemy. Sylla said, "It is not any inclination to fight, but an unwillingness to work, that puts you upon this request. If you really want to come to an engagement, go, sword in hand, and seize that post immediately." At the same time he pointed to the place, where had formerly stood the citadel of the Paropotamians, but all the buildings were now demolished, and there was nothing left but a craggy and steep mountain, just separated from mount Edylium by the river Assus, which at the foot of the mountain falls into the Cephissus. The river growing very rapid by this confluence, makes the ridge a safe place for an encampment. Sylla seeing those of the enemy's troops called Chalcaspides, hastening to seize that post, wanted to gain it before them, and by availing himself of the present spirit of his men, he succeeded. Archelaus, upon this disappointment, turned his arms against Charonea; the inhabitants, in consequence of their former connections with Sylla, entreated him not to desert the place; upon which he sent along with them the military tribune Gabinus with one legion. The Charoneans, with all their ardour to reach the city, did not arrive sooner than Gabinus; such was his honour, when engaged in their defence, that it even eclipsed the zeal of those who implored his assistance. Juba tells us, that it was not Gabinus but Ericlus,¹

¹ It is probable, it should be read *Hirtius*; for so some manuscripts have it,

where the same person is mentioned again afterwards.

who was despatched on this occasion. In this critical situation, however, was the city of Chæroneæ.

The Romans now received from Lebadia and the cave of Trophonius very agreeable accounts of oracles, that promised victory. The inhabitants of that country tell us many stories about them; but what Sylla himself writes, in the tenth book of his Commentaries, is this: Quintus Titius, a man of some note among the Romans employed in Greece, came to him one day after he had gained the battle of Chæroneæ, and told him, that Trophonius foretold another battle to be fought shortly in the same place, in which he should likewise prove victorious. After him, came a private soldier of his own, with a promise from heaven of the glorious success that would attend his affairs in Italy. Both agreed as to the manner in which these prophecies were communicated: they said the deity that appeared to them, both in beauty and majesty, resembled the Olympian Jupiter.

When Sylla had passed the Assus, he encamped under mount Edylium, over against Archelaus, who had strongly entrenched himself between Acontium and Edylium, near a place called Assia. That spot of ground bears the name of Archelaus to this day. Sylla passed one day without attempting anything. The day following, he left Murræna with a legion and two cohorts, to harass the enemy, who were already in some disorder, while he himself went and sacrificed on the banks of the Cephissus. After the ceremony was over, he proceeded to Chæroneæ, to join the forces there, and to take a view of Thurium, a post which the enemy had gained before him. This is a craggy eminence, running up gradually to a point, which we express in our language by the term *Orthopagus*. At the foot of it runs the river Morius,¹ and by it stands the temple of Apollo Thurium. Apollo is so called from Thuro the mother of Cheron, who, as history informs us, was the founder of Chæroneæ; others say, that the heifer which the Pythian Apollo appointed Cadmus for his guide, first presented herself there, and that the place was thence named Thurium; for the Phœnicians call a heifer *Thor*.

As Sylla approached Chæroneæ, the tribune who had the city in charge, led out his troops to meet him, having himself a crown of laurel in his hands. Just as Sylla received them, and began to animate them to the intended enterprise, Homoloicus and Anaxidamus, two Chæroneans, addressed him, with a promise to cut off the corps that occupied Thurium, if he would give them a small party to support them in the attempt. For there was a path which the barbarians were not apprized of, leading from a place called Petrochus, by the temple of the Muses, to a part of the mountain that overlooked them; from whence it was easy either to destroy them with stones, or drive them down into the plain. Sylla finding the character of these men for courage and fidelity supported by Gabinus, ordered them to put the thing in execution. Meantime

¹ This river is afterwards called *Molus*; but which is the right reading is uncertain.

he drew up his forces, and placed the cavalry in the wings ; taking the right himself, and giving the left to Muræna. Gallus¹ and Hortensius, his lieutenants, commanded a body of reserve in the rear, and kept watch upon the heights, to prevent their being surrounded. For it was easy to see that the enemy were preparing with their wings, which consisted of an infinite number of horse, and all their light-armed foot, troops that could move with great agility, and wind away at pleasure, to take a circuit, and quite enclose the Roman army.

In the meantime, the two Chæroneans, supported, according to Sylla's order, by a party commanded by Ericus, stole unobserved up Thurium, and gained the summit. As soon as they made their appearance, the barbarians were struck with consternation, and sought refuge in flight ; but in the confusion many of them perished by means of each other. For, unable to find any firm footing, as they moved down the steep mountain, they fell upon the spears of those that were next before them, or else pushed them down the precipice. All this while the enemy were pressing upon them from above, and galling them behind ; insomuch that 3000 men were killed upon Thurium. As to those who got down, some fell into the hands of Muræna, who met them in good order, and easily cut them in pieces ; others who fled to the main body, under Archclaus, wherever they fell in with it, filled it with terror and dismay ; and this was the thing that gave the officers most trouble, and principally occasioned the defeat. Sylla, taking advantage of their disorder, moved with such vigour and expedition to the charge, that he prevented the effect of the armed chariots. For the chief strength of those chariots consists in the course they run, and in the impetuosity consequent upon it ; and if they have but a short compass, they are as insignificant as arrows sent from a bow not well drawn. This was the case at present with respect to the barbarians. Their chariots moved at first so slow, and their attacks were so lifeless, that the Romans clapped their hands, and received them with the utmost ridicule. They even called for fresh ones, as they used to do in the Hippodrome at Rome.

Upon this, the infantry engaged. The barbarians, for their part, tried what the long pikes would do ; and, by locking their shields together, endeavoured to keep themselves in good order. As for the Romans, after their spears had had all the effect that could be expected from them, they drew their swords, and met the scimitars of the enemy with a strength which a just indignation inspires. For Mithridates's generals had brought over 15,000 slaves upon a proclamation of liberty, and placed them among the heavy-armed infantry. On which occasion, a certain centurion is said thus to have expressed himself—"Surely these are the Saturnalia ; for we never saw slaves have any share of liberty at another time." However, as their ranks were so close, and their file so deep, that they

¹ Guarin, after Appian's *Mithrid.*, reads *Gallus*, and so it is in several MSS. De-

sider proposes to read *Salvus*, which name occurs afterwards.

could not easily be broken; and as they exerted a spirit which could not be expected from them, they were not repulsed and put in disorder till the archers and slingers of the second line discharged all their fury upon them.

Archelaus was now extending his right wing, in order to surround the Romans, and Hortensius, with the cohorts under his command, pushed down to take him in the flank. But Archelaus, by a sudden manœuvre, turned against him with 2000 horse whom he had at hand, and by little and little drove him towards the mountains; so that being separated from the main body, he was in danger of being quite hemmed in by the enemy. Sylla, informed of this, pushed up with his right wing, which had not yet engaged, to the assistance of Hortensius. On the other hand, Archelaus, conjecturing, from the dust that flew about, the real state of the case, left Hortensius, and hastened back to the right of the Roman army, from whence Sylla had advanced, in hopes of finding it without a commander.

At the same time Taxiles led on the *Chalcaspides* against Muræna, so that shouts were set up on both sides, which were re-echoed by the neighbouring mountains. Sylla now stopped to consider which way he should direct his course. At length, concluding to return to his own post, he sent Hortensius with four cohorts to the assistance of Muræna, and himself with the fifth made up to his right wing with the utmost expedition. He found that without him it kept a good countenance against the troops of Archelaus; but as soon as he appeared, his men made such prodigious efforts, that they routed the enemy entirely, and pursued them to the river and mount Acontium.

Amidst this success, Sylla was not unmindful of Muræna's danger, but hastened with a reinforcement to that quarter. He found him, however, victorious, and therefore had nothing to do but join in the pursuit. Great numbers of the barbarians fell in the field of battle, and still greater as they were endeavouring to gain their entrenchments; so that out of so many myriads only 10,000 men reached Chalcis. Sylla says, he missed only fourteen of his men, and two of these came up in the evening. For this reason he inscribed his trophies to *Mars, to Victory, and Venus*, to show that he was no less indebted to good fortune, than to capacity and valour, for the advantages he had gained. The trophy I am speaking of was erected for the victory won on the plain, where the troops of Archelaus began to give way, and to fly to the river Molus. The other trophy upon the top of Thurium, in memory of their getting above the barbarians, was inscribed in Greek characters to the valour of *Homoloichus and Anaxidamas*.

He exhibited games on this occasion at Thebes, in a theatre erected for that purpose near the fountain of *Œdipus*.¹ But the judges were taken from other cities of Greece, by reason of the implacable hatred he bore the Thebans. He deprived them of

¹ Pausanias tells us this fountain was so called, because *Œdipus* there washed

off the blood he was stained with in the murder of his father.

half their territories, which he consecrated to the Pythian Apollo and the Olympian Jupiter; leaving orders that out of their revenues the money should be repaid which he had taken from their temples.

After this, he received news that Flaccus, who was of the opposite faction, was elected consul, and that he was bringing a great army over the Ionian, in pretence against Mithridates, but in reality against him. He therefore marched into Thessaly to meet him. However, when he was arrived at Melitea, intelligence was brought him from several quarters, that the countries behind him were laid waste by another army of the king's, superior to the former. Dorylaus was arrived at Chalcis with a large fleet, which brought over 80,000 men, of the best equipped and best disciplined troops of Mithridates. With these he entered Boeotia, and made himself master of the country, in hopes of drawing Sylla to a battle. Archelaus remonstrated against that measure, but Dorylaus was so far from regarding him, that he scrupled not to assert, that so many myriads of men could not have been lost without treachery. But Sylla soon turned back, and showed Dorylaus how prudent the advice was which he had rejected, and what a proper sense its author had of the Roman valour. Indeed, Dorylaus himself, after some slight skirmishes with Sylla at Tilphosium, was the first to agree that action was not the thing to be pursued any longer, but that the war was to be spun out, and decided at last by dint of money.

However, the plain of Orchomenus, where they were encamped, being most advantageous for those whose chief strength consisted in cavalry, gave fresh spirits to Archelaus. For of all the plains of Boeotia the largest and most beautiful is this, which, without either tree or bush, extends itself from the gates of Orchomenus to the fens in which the river Melas loses itself. That river rises under the walls of the city just mentioned, and is the only Grecian river which is navigable from its source. About the summer solstice it overflows like the Nile, and produces plants of the same nature; only they are meagre, and bear but little fruit. Its course is short, great part of it soon stopping in those dark and muddy fens. The rest falls into the river Cephissus, about the place where the water is bordered with such excellent canes for flutes.

The two armies being encamped opposite each other, Archelaus attempted not anything. But Sylla began to cut trenches in several parts of the field, that he might, if possible, drive the enemy from the firm ground which was so suitable for cavalry, and force them upon the morasses. The barbarians could not bear this, but upon the first signal from their generals, rode up at full speed, and handled the labourers so rudely, that they all dispersed. The corps too, designed to support them, was put to flight. Sylla that moment leaped from his horse, seized one of the ensigns, and pushed through the middle of the fugitives towards the enemy, crying out, *"Here, Romans, is the bed of honour I am to die in. Do you, when you are asked where you betrayed your general,*

remember to say, it was at *Orchoimennus*." These words stopped them in their flight: besides, two cohorts came from the right wing to his assistance, and at the head of this united corps he repulsed the enemy.

Sylla then drew back a little, to give his troops some refreshment; after which he brought them to work again, intending to draw a line of circumvallation round the barbarians. Hereupon, they returned in better order than before. Diogenes, son-in-law to Archelaus, fell gloriously as he was performing wonders on the right. Their archers were charged so close by the Romans, that they had not room to manage their bows, and therefore took a quantity of arrows in their hands, which they used instead of swords, and with them killed several of their adversaries. At last, however, they were broken and shut up in their camp, where they passed the night in great misery, on account of their dead and wounded. Next morning Sylla drew out his men to continue the trench; and as numbers of the barbarians came out to engage him, he attacked and routed them so effectually, that, in the terror they were in, none stood to guard the camp, and he entered it with them. The fens were then filled with the blood of the slain, and the lake with dead bodies; insomuch that even now many of the weapons of the barbarians, bows, helmets, fragments of iron breast-plates, and swords, are found buried in the mud, though it is almost 200 years since the battle.

Meanwhile Cinna and Carbo behaved with so much rigour and injustice at Rome to persons of the greatest distinction, that many, to avoid their tyranny, retired to Sylla's camp, as to a safe harbour; so that in a little time he had a kind of senate about him. Metella, with much difficulty, stole from Rome with his children, and came to tell him, that his enemies had burned his house and all his villas, and to entreat him to return home, where his help was so much wanted. He was much perplexed in his deliberations, neither choosing to neglect his afflicted country, nor knowing how to go and leave such an important object as the Mithridatic war in so unfinished a state, when he was addressed by a merchant of Delium, called Archelaus, on the part of the general of that name, who wanted to sound him about an accommodation, and to treat privately of the conditions of it.

Sylla was so charmed with the thing, that he hastened to a personal conference with the general. Their interview was on the seacoast near Delium, where stands a celebrated temple of Apollo. Upon their meeting, Archelaus proposed that Sylla should quit the Asiatic and Pontic expedition, and turn his whole attention to the civil war, engaging on the king's behalf to supply him with money, vessels, and troops. Sylla proposed an answer, that Archelaus should quit the interest of Mithridates, be appointed king in his place, assume the title of an ally to the Romans, and put the king's shipping in his hands. When Archelaus expressed his detestation of this treachery, Sylla thus proceeded: "Is it possible, then, that you, Archelaus, a Cappadocian, the slave, or, if you please, the

friend of a barbarous king, should be shocked at a proposal, which, however in some respects exceptionable, must be attended with the most advantageous consequences? Is it possible that to me, the Roman general, to Sylla, you should take upon you to talk of treachery? As if you were not that same Archelaus, who at Chæronea fled with a handful of men, the poor remains of 12,000, who hid himself two days in the marshes of Orchomenus, and left the roads of Bœotia blocked up with heaps of dead bodies." Upon this Archelaus had recourse to entreaty, and begged at last a peace for Mithridates. This was allowed upon certain conditions—Mithridates was to give up Asia and Paphlagonia, cede Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes. He was to allow the Romans 2000 talents to defray the expense of the war, besides seventy armed galleys fully equipped. Sylla, on the other hand, was to secure Mithridates in the rest of his dominions, and procure him the title of friend and ally to the Romans.

These conditions being accepted and negotiated, Sylla returned through Thessaly and Macedonia towards the Hellespont. Archelaus, who accompanied him, was treated with the greatest respect, and when he happened to fall sick at Larissa, Sylla halted there for some time, and showed him all the attention he could have paid to his own general officers, or even to his colleague himself. This circumstance rendered the battle of Chæronea a little suspected, as if it had been gained by unfair means; and what added to the suspicion, was the restoring of all the prisoners of Mithridates, except Aristion, the avowed enemy of Archelaus, who was taken off by poison. But what confirmed the whole, was the cession of 10,000 acres in Eubœa to the Cappadocian, and the title that was given him of friend and ally to the Romans. Sylla, however, in his Commentaries, obviates all these censures.

During his stay at Larissa, he received an embassy from Mithridates, entreating him not to insist upon his giving up Paphlagonia, and representing that the demand of shipping was inadmissible. Sylla heard these remonstrances with indignation—"What," said he, "does Mithridates pretend to keep Paphlagonia, and refuse to send the vessels I demanded? Mithridates, whom I should have expected to entreat me on his knees that I would spare that right hand which had slain so many Romans; but I am satisfied that, when I return to Asia, he will change his style. While he resides at Pergamus, he can direct at ease the war he has not seen." The ambassadors were struck dumb with this indignant answer, while Archelaus endeavoured to soothe and appease the anger of Sylla, by every mitigating expression and bathing his hand with his tears. At length he prevailed on the Roman general to send him to Mithridates, assuring him that he would obtain his consent to all the articles, or perish in the attempt.

Sylla upon this assurance dismissed him, and invaded Media, where he committed great depredations, and then returned to Macedonia. He received Archelaus at Philippi, who informed him that he had succeeded perfectly well in his negotiation, but that

Mithridates was extremely desirous of an interview. His reason for it was this : Fimbria, who had slain the consul Flaccus, one of the heads of the opposite faction, and defeated the king's generals, was now marching against Mithridates himself. Mithridates, alarmed at this, wanted to form a friendship with Sylla.

Their interview was at Dardanus in the country of Troas. Mithridates came with 200 galleys, an army of 20,000 foot, 600 horse, and a great number of armed chariots. Sylla had no more than four cohorts and 200 horse. Mithridates came forward, and offered him his hand, but Sylla first asked him, "Whether he would stand to the conditions that Archelaus had settled with him?" The king hesitated upon it, and Sylla then said, "It is for petitioners to speak first, and for conquerors to hear in silence." Mithridates then began a long harangue, in which he endeavoured to apologise for himself, by throwing the blame partly upon the gods and partly upon the Romans. At length Sylla interrupted him—"I have often," said he, "heard that Mithridates was a good orator, but now I know it by experience, since he has been able to give a colour to such unjust and abominable deeds." Then he set forth in bitter terms, and in such a manner as could not be replied to, the king's shameful conduct, and in conclusion asked him again, "Whether he would abide by the conditions settled with Archelaus?" Upon his answering in the affirmative, Sylla took him in his arms and saluted him. Then he presented to him the two kings Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes, and reconciled them to each other.

Mithridates, having delivered up to him 70 of his ships, and 500 archers, sailed back to Pontus. Sylla perceived that his troops were much offended at the peace : they thought it an insufferable thing, that a prince who, of all the kings in the universe, was the bitterest enemy to Rome ; who had caused 150,000 Romans to be murdered in Asia in one day, should go off with the wealth and spoils of Asia, which he had been plundering and oppressing full four years. But he excused himself to them by observing, that they should never have been able to carry on the war against both Fimbria and Mithridates, if they had joined their forces.

From thence he marched against Fimbria, who was encamped at Thyatira ; and having marked out a camp very near him, he began upon the entrenchment. The soldiers of Fimbria came out in their vests, and saluted those of Sylla, and readily assisted them in their work. Fimbria seeing this desertion, and withal dreading Sylla as an implacable enemy, despatched himself upon the spot.

Sylla laid a fine upon Asia of 20,000 talents ; and beside this, the houses of private persons were ruined by the insolence and disorder of the soldiers he quartered upon them. For he commanded every householder to give the soldiers who lodged with him 16 drachmas a day, and to provide a supper for him and as many friends as he chose to invite. A centurion was to have 50 drachmas a day, and one dress to wear within doors, and another in public.

These things settled, he set sail from Ephesus with his whole fleet, and reached the harbour of Piræus the third day. At Athens he

got himself initiated in the mysteries of Ceres, and from that city he took with him the library of Apollicon the Teian, in which were most of the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus, books at that time not sufficiently known to the world. When they were brought to Rome, it is said that Tyrannio the grammarian, prepared many of them for publication, and that Andronicus the Rhodian, getting the manuscripts by his means, did actually publish them, together with those indexes that are now in everybody's hands. The old Peripatetics appear indeed to have been men of curiosity and erudition; but they had neither met with many of Aristotle's and Theophrastus's books, nor were those they did meet with correct copies; because the inheritance of Neleus the Scepsian, to whom Theophrastus left his works, fell into mean and obscure hands.

During Sylla's stay at Athens, he felt a painful numbness in his feet, which Strabo calls the lipping of the gout. This obliged him to sail to Ædepsus, for the benefit of the warm baths, where he lounged away the day with mimics and buffoons, and all the 'rain of Bacchus. One day, as he was walking by the sea-side, some fishermen presented him with a curious dish of fish. Delighted with the present, he asked the people of what country they were, and when he heard they were Alæans, "What," said he, "are any of the Alæans alive?" for in pursuance of his victory at Orchomenus, he had razed three cities of Boeotia, Anthedon, Larymna, and Alææ. The poor men were struck dumb with fear; but he told them, with a smile, "They might go away quite happy, for they had brought very respectable mediators with them." The Alæans tell us, that from that time they took courage, and re-established themselves in their old habitations.

Sylla, now recovered, passed through Thessaly and Macedonia to the sea, intending to cross over from Dyrracium to Brundisium with a fleet of 1200 sail. In that neighbourhood stands Apollonia, near which is a remarkable spot of ground called Nymphæum.¹ The lawns and meadows are of incomparable verdure, though interspersed with springs from which continually issues fire. In this place, we are told, a satyr was taken asleep, exactly such as statues and painters represent to us. He was brought to Sylla, and interrogated in many languages who he was; but he uttered nothing intelligible; his accent being harsh and inarticulate, something between the neighing of a horse and the bleating of a goat. Sylla was shocked with his appearance, and ordered him to be taken out of his presence.

When he was upon the point of embarking with his troops, he began to be afraid, that as soon as they reached Italy, they would disperse and retire to their respective cities. Hereupon they came to him of their own accord, and took an oath that they would stand by him to the last, and not wilfully do any damage to Italy. And as

1 In this place the nymphs had an oracle, of the manner of consulting which Dion (l. 81) tells us several ridiculous stories. Strabo, speaking of it in his

seventh book, tells us the Nymphæum is a rock, out of which issues fire, and that beneath it flow streams of flaming liquor.

they saw he would want large sums of money, they went and collected each as much as they could afford, and brought it him. He did not, however, receive their contribution, but having thanked them for their attachment, and encouraging them to hope the best, he set sail. He had to go, as he himself tells us, against fifteen generals of the other party, who had under them no less than 250 cohorts. But Heaven gave him evident tokens of success. He sacrificed immediately upon his landing at Tarentum, and the liver of the victim had the plain impression¹ of a crown of laurel, with two strings hanging down. A little before his passage, there were seen in the day-time upon Mount Hephæum² in Campania, two great he-goats engaged, which used all the movements that men do in fighting. The phenomenon raised itself by degrees from the earth into the air, where it dispersed itself in the manner of shadowy phantoms, and quite disappeared.

A little after this, young Marius, and Norbanus the consul, with two very powerful bodies, presumed to attack Sylla; who, without any regular disposition of his troops, or order of battle, by the mere valour and impetuosity of his soldiers, after having slain 7000 of the enemy, obliged Norbanus to seek a refuge within the walls of Capua. This success he mentions as the cause why his soldiers did not desert, but despised the enemy, though greatly superior in numbers. He tells us, moreover, that an enthusiastic servant of Pontius, in the town of Silvium, announced him victorious, upon the communicated authority of Bellona, but informed him, at the same time, that if he did not listen, the Capitol would be burned. This actually happened on the day predicted, which was the sixth of July. About this time it was that Marcus Lucullus, one of Sylla's officers, who had no more than sixteen cohorts under his command, found himself on the point of engaging an enemy who had fifty; though he had the utmost confidence in the valour of his troops, yet, as many of them were without arms, he was doubtful about the onset. While he was deliberating about the matter, a gentle breeze bore from a neighbouring field a quantity of flowers, that fell on the shields and helmets of the soldiers in such a manner, that they appeared to be crowned with garlands. This circumstance had such an effect upon them,³ that they charged the enemy with double vigour and courage, killed 18,000, and became complete masters of the field, and of the camps. This Marcus Lucullus was brother to that Lucullus who afterwards conquered Mithridates and Tigranes.

¹ The priests traced the figures they wanted upon the liver on their hands and by holding it very close easily made the impression upon it while it was warm and pliant.

² There is no such mountain as Hephæum known. Livy mentions the hills of Tintia near Capua.

³ The use that the ancient Romans as well as Greeks made of enthusiasm and superstition, in war particularly was so

great and so frequent that it appears to take off much from the idea of their native colour and valour. The slightest circumstance as in the improbable instance referred to, of a preternatural kind, or bearing the least shadow of a religious ceremony, would animate them to those exploits, which, though a rational valour was certainly capable of effecting them without such influence, they would never have undertaken.

Sylla still saw himself surrounded with armies and powerful enemies, to whom he was inferior in point of force, and therefore had recourse to fraud. He made Scipio, one of the consuls, some proposals for an accommodation, upon which many interviews and conferences ensued. But Sylla, always finding some pretence for gaining time, was corrupting Scipio's soldiers all the while by means of his own, who were as well practised as their general in every art of solicitation. They entered their adversaries' camp, and, mixing among them, soon gained them over, some by money, some by fair promises, and others by the most insinuating adulation. At last, Sylla advancing to their entrenchments with 20 cohorts, Scipio's men saluted them as fellow-soldiers, and came out and joined them; so that Scipio was left alone in his tent, where he was taken, but immediately after dismissed in safety. These 20 cohorts were Sylla's decoy birds, by which he drew forty more into his net, and then brought them altogether into his camp. On this occasion Carbo is reported to have said, that in Sylla he had to contend both with a fox and a lion, but the fox gave him the most trouble.

The year following, young Marius being consul, and at the head of 80 cohorts, gave Sylla the challenge. Sylla was very ready to accept it that day in particular, on account of a dream he had the night before. He thought he saw old Marius, who had now long been dead, advising his son to beware of the ensuing day as big with mischief to him. This made Sylla impatient of the combat. The first step he took towards it was to send for Dolabella, who had encamped at some distance. The enemy had blocked up the roads; and Sylla's troops were much harassed in endeavouring to open them. Besides, a violent rain happened to fall, and still more incommoded them in their work. Hereupon, the officers went and entreated Sylla to defer the battle till another day, showing him how his men were beaten out with fatigue, and *seated upon the ground with their shields under them*. Sylla yielded to their arguments, though with great reluctance, and gave them orders to entrench themselves.

They were just begun to put these orders in execution, when Marius rode boldly up in hopes of finding them dispersed and in great disorder. Fortune seized this moment for accomplishing Sylla's dream. His soldiers, fired with indignation, left their work, struck their pikes in the trench, and with drawn swords and loud shouts ran to the charge. The enemy made but a slight resistance; they were routed, and vast numbers slain in their flight. Marius himself fled to Præneste, where he found the gates shut; but a rope was let down, to which he fastened himself, and so he was taken up over the wall.

Some authors, indeed, write, and among the rest Fenestalla, that Marius saw nothing of the battle, but that, being oppressed with watching and fatigue, he laid himself down in a shade, after the signal was given, and was not waked without difficulty when all was lost. Sylla says, he lost only 23 men in this battle, though he killed 10,000 of the enemy, and took 8000 prisoners. He was

equally successful with respect to his lieutenants, Pompey, Crassus, Metellus, and Servilius, who, without any miscarriage at all, or with none of any consequence, defeated great and powerful armies, insomuch that Carbo, who was the chief support of the opposite party, stole out of his camp by night, and passed over into Africa.

The last conflict Sylla had, was with Telesinus the Samnite, who entered the lists like a fresh champion against one that was weary, and was near throwing him at the very gates of Rome. Telesinus had collected a great body of forces, with the assistance of a Lucanian named Lamponius, and was hastening to the relief of Marius, who was besieged in Praeneste. But he got intelligence that Sylla and Pompey were advancing against him by long marches, the one to take him in front, and the other in rear, and that he was in the utmost danger of being hemmed in both before and behind. In this case, like a man of great abilities and experience of the most critical kind, he decamped by night, and marched with his whole army directly towards Rome, which was in so unguarded a condition, that he might have entered it without difficulty. But he stopped when he was only ten furlongs from the Colline gate, and contented himself with passing the night before the walls, greatly encouraged and elevated at the thought of having outdone so many great commanders in point of generalship.

Early next morning the young nobility mounted their horses, and fell upon him. He defeated them, and killed a considerable number; among the rest fell Appius Claudius, a young man of spirit, and of one of the most illustrious families in Rome. The city was now full of terror and confusion—the women ran about the streets, bewailing themselves, as if it was just going to be taken by assault—when Balbus, who was sent before by Sylla appeared advancing at full speed with 700 horse. He stopped just long enough to give his horses time to cool, and then bridled them again, and proceeded to keep the enemy in play.

In the meantime Sylla made his appearance; and having caused his first ranks to take a speedy refreshment, he began to put them in order of battle. Dolabella and Torquatus pressed him to wait some time, and not lead his men in that fatigued condition to an engagement that must prove decisive. For he had not now to do with Carbo and Marius, but with Samnites and Lucanians, the most inveterate enemies to the Roman name. However, he overruled their motion, and ordered the trumpets to sound to the charge, though it was now so late as the tenth hour of the day. There was no battle during the whole war fought with such obstinacy as this. The right wing, commanded by Crassus, had greatly the advantage, but the left was much distressed, and began to give way. Sylla made up to its assistance. He rode a white horse of uncommon spirit and swiftness, and two of the enemy, knowing him by it, levelled their spears at him. He himself perceived it not, but his groom did, and with a sudden lash made the horse spring forward, so that the spears only grazed his tail, and fixed themselves in the ground. It is said that in all his

battles he wore in his bosom a small golden image of Apollo, which he brought from Delphi. On this occasion he kissed it with particular devotion,¹ and addressed it in these terms : " O Pythian Apollo, who has conducted the fortunate Cornelius Sylla through so many engagements with honour ; when thou hast brought him to the threshold of his country, wilt thou let him fall there inglorious by the hands of his own citizens ? "

After this act of devotion, Sylla endeavoured to rally his men : some he entreated, some he threatened, and others he forced back to the charge. But at length his whole left wing was routed, and he was obliged to mix with the fugitives to regain his camp, after having lost many of his friends of the highest distinction. A good number, too, of those who came out of the city to see the battle, were trodden under foot and perished. Nay, Rome itself was thought to be absolutely lost : and the siege of Præneste, where Marius had taken up his quarters, near being raised. For after the defeat many of the fugitives repaired thither, and desired Lucretius Ofella, who had the direction of the siege to quit it immediately, because (they said) Sylla was slain, and his enemies masters of Rome.

But the same evening, when it was quite dark, there came persons to Sylla's camp, on the part of Crassus, to desire refreshment for him and his soldiers. For he had defeated the enemy, and pursued them to Antemna, where he was sat down to besiege them. Along with this news Sylla was informed that the greatest part of the enemy was cut off in the action. As soon, therefore, as it was day, he repaired to Antemna. There 3000 of the other faction sent deputies to him to intercede for mercy ; and he promised them impunity, on condition that they would come to him after some notable stroke against the rest of his enemies. Confiding in his honour, they fell upon another corps, and thus many of them were slain by the hands of their fellow-soldiers. Sylla, however, collected these, and what was left of the others, to the number of 6000, into the Circus ; and at the same time assembled the senate in the temple of Bellona. The moment he began his harangue, his soldiers, as they had been ordered, fell upon those 6000 poor wretches, and cut them in pieces. The cry of such a number of people massacred in a place of no great extent, as may well be imagined, was very dreadful. The senators were struck with astonishment. But he, with a firm and unaltered countenance continuing his discourse, bade them " attend to what he was saying, and not trouble themselves about what was doing without ; for the noise they heard, came only from some malefactors, whom he had ordered to be chastised."

It was evident from hence to the least discerning among the Romans, that they were not delivered from tyranny ; they only changed their tyrant. Marius, indeed, from the first was of a harsh

¹ By this it appears, that the heathens made the same use of the images of their

gods, which the Romanists do of images and reliques.

and severe disposition, and power did not produce, it only added to his cruelty. But Sylla, at the beginning, bore prosperity with great moderation; though he seemed more attached to the patricians, it was thought he would protect the rights of the people; *he had loved to laugh from his youth, and had been so compassionate that he often melted into tears.* This change in him, therefore, could not but cast a blemish upon power. On his account, it was believed, that high honours and fortunes will not suffer men's manners to remain in their original simplicity, but that it begets in them insolence, arrogance, and inhumanity. Whether power does really produce such a change of disposition, or whether it only displays the native badness of the heart, belongs however to another department of letters to inquire.

Sylla now turning himself to kill and to destroy, filled the city with massacre, which had neither number nor bounds. He even gave up many persons against whom he had no complaint, to the private revenge of his creatures. At last one of the young nobility, named Caius Metellus, ventured to put these questions to him in the senate—"Tell us, Sylla, when we shall have an end of our calamities? how far thou wilt proceed, and when we may hope thou wilt stop? We ask thee not to spare those whom thou hast marked out for punishment, but we ask an exemption from anxiety for those whom thou hast determined to save." Sylla said, "He did not yet know whom he should save." "Then," replied Metellus, "let us know whom thou intendest to destroy;" and Sylla answered, "He would do it." Some, indeed, ascribe the last reply to Ausidius, one of Sylla's flatterers.

Immediately upon this, he proscribed 80 citizens, without consulting any of the magistrates in the least. And as the public expressed their indignation at this, the second day after he proscribed 220 more, and as many on the third. Then he told the people from the *rostrum*, "He had now proscribed all that he remembered; and such as he had forgot must come into some future proscription." Death was the punishment he ordained for any one who should harbour or save a person proscribed, without excepting a brother, a son, or a parent! Such was to be the reward of humanity. But two talents were to be the reward of murder, whether it were a slave that killed his master, or a son his father! The most unjust circumstance, however, of all seemed to be, that he declared the sons and grandsons of proscribed persons infamous, and confiscated their goods.

The lists were put up not only at Rome, but in all the cities of Italy. Neither temple of the gods, nor paternal dwelling, nor hearth of hospitality, was any protection against murder. Husbands were despatched in the bosoms of their wives, and sons in those of their mothers. And the sacrifices to resentment and revenge were nothing to those who fell on account of their wealth. So that it was a common saying among the ruffians, "His fine house was the death of such a one, his gardens of another, and his hot baths of a third." Quintus Aurelius, a quiet man, who thought

he could have no share in those miseries, but that which compassion gave him, came one day into the forum, and out of curiosity read the names of the proscribed. Finding his own, however, among the rest, he cried out, "Wretch that I am! my Alban villa pursues me;" and he had not gone far before a ruffian came up and killed him.

In the meantime young Marius being taken,¹ slew himself. Sylla then came to Præneste, where at first he tried the inhabitants, and had them executed singly. But afterwards finding he had not leisure for such formalities, he collected them to the number of 12,000, and ordered them to be put to death, excepting only one who had formerly entertained him at his house. This man with a noble spirit told him, "He would never owe his life to the destroyer of his country;" and voluntarily mixing with the crowd, he died with his fellow-citizens! The strangest, however, of all his proceedings, was that with respect to Catiline. This wretch had killed his own brother during the civil war, and now he desired Sylla to put him among the proscribed, as a person still alive: which he made no difficulty of doing. Catiline in return went and killed one Marcus Marius, who was of the opposite faction, brought his head to Sylla, as he sat upon his tribunal in the forum, and then washed his hands in the lustre water,² at the door of Apollo's temple, which was just by.

These massacres were not the only thing that afflicted the Romans. *He declared himself dictator*, reviving that office in his own favour, though there had been no instance of it for 120 years. He got a decree of amnesty for all he had done: and, as to the future, it invested him with the power of life and death, of confiscating, of colonising, of building or demolishing cities, of giving or taking away kingdoms at his pleasure. He exercised his power in such an insolent and despotic manner with regard to confiscated goods, that his applications of them from the tribunal were more intolerable than the confiscations themselves. He gave to handsome prostitutes, to harpers, to buffoons, and to the most wicked of his enfranchised slaves, the revenues of whole cities and provinces, and compelled women of condition to marry some of those ruffians.

He was desirous of an alliance with Pompey the Great, and made him divorce the wife he had, in order to his marrying Æmilia, the daughter of Scaurus by his own wife Metella, though he had to force her from Manius Glabrio by whom she was pregnant. The young lady, however, died in childbed in the house of Pompey her second husband.

Lucretius Ofella, who had besieged Marius in Præneste, now aspired to the consulship, and prepared to sue for it. Sylla forbade

¹ He was not taken; but as he was endeavouring to make his escape by a subterraneous passage, he found it beset by Sylla's soldiers; whereupon he ordered one of his slaves to kill him.

² Here is another instance of a heathen

custom adopted by the Romanists. An abstention from the use of this holy water was considered by the Greeks as a sort of excommunication. We find *Œdipus* prohibiting it to the murderers of *Laius*. *Sophocles, Œdip. Act. II. sc. I.*

him to proceed ; and when he saw that in confidence of his interest with the people, he appeared notwithstanding in public as a candidate, he sent one of the centurions who attended him to despatch that brave man, while he himself sat on his tribunal in the temple of Castor and Pollux, and looked down upon the murder. The people seized the centurion, and brought him with loud complaints before Sylla. He commanded silence, and told them the thing was done by his order ; the centurion, therefore, was to be dismissed immediately.

About this time he led up his triumph, which was magnificent for the display of wealth, and of the royal spoils which were a new spectacle : but that which crowned all, was the procession of the exiles. Some of the most illustrious and most powerful of the citizens followed the chariot, and called Sylla their saviour and father, because by his means it was that they returned to their country, and were restored to their wives and children. When the triumph was over, he gave an account of his great actions in a set speech to the people, and was no less particular in relating the instances of his good fortune, than those of his valour. He even concluded with an order that for the future he should be called Felix (that is, the fortunate.) But in writing to the Grecians, and in his answers to their applications, he took the additional name of Epaphroditus (*the favourite of Venus.*) The inscription upon the trophies left among us, is, LUCIUS CORNELIUS SYLLA EPAPHRODITUS. And to the twins he had by Metella, he gave the names of Faustus and Fausta, which in the Roman language signifies *auspicious* and *happy*.

A still stronger proof of his placing more confidence in his good fortune than in his achievements was, his laying down the dictatorship. After he had put an infinite number of people to death, broke in upon the constitution, and changed the form of government, he had the hardiness to leave the people full power to choose consuls again : while he himself, without pretending to any direction of their suffrages, walked about the forum, as a private man, and put it in the power of any person to take his life. In the first election he had the mortification to see his enemy Marcus Lepidus, a bold and enterprising man, declared consul, not by his own interest, but by that of Pompey, who on this occasion exerted himself with the people. And when he saw Pompey going off happy in his victory, he called him to him, and said, "No doubt, young man, your politics are very excellent, since you have preferred Lepidus to Catullus, the worst and most stupid of men to the best. It is high time to awake and be upon your guard now you have strengthened your adversary against yourself." Sylla spoke this from something like a prophetic spirit ; for Lepidus soon acted with the utmost insolence, as Pompey's declared enemy.

Sylla gave the people a magnificent entertainment, on account of his dedicating the tenths of his substance to Hercules. The provisions were so over-abundant, that a great quantity was thrown

every day into the river ; and the wine that was drank, was forty years old at least. In the midst of this feasting, which lasted many days, Metella sickened and died. As the priests forbade him to approach her, or to have his house defiled with mourning, he sent her a bill of divorce, and ordered her to be carried to another house while the breath was in her body. His superstition made him very punctilious in observing these laws of the priests ; but by giving into the utmost profusion he transgressed a law of his own, which limited the expense of funerals. He broke in upon his own sumptuary law too, with respect to diet, by passing his time in the most extravagant banquets, and having recourse to debauches to combat anxiety.

A few months after he presented the people with a show of gladiators. And as at that time men and women had no separate places, but sat promiscuously in the theatre, a woman of great beauty, and of one of the best families, happened to sit near Sylla. She was the daughter of Messala, and sister to the orator Hortensius ; her name Valeria ; and she had lately been divorced from her husband. This woman, coming behind Sylla, touched him, and took off a little of the nap of his robe, and then returned to her seat. Sylla looked at her, quite amazed at her familiarity ; when she said, "Wonder not, my lord, at what I have done ; I had only a mind to share a little in your good fortune." Sylla was far from being displeased ; on the contrary it appeared that he was flattered very agreeably. For he sent to ask her name, and to inquire into her family and character. Then followed an exchange of amorous regards and smiles ; which ended in a contract and marriage. The lady, perhaps, was not to blame. But Sylla, though he got a woman of reputation and great accomplishments, yet came into the match upon wrong principles. Like a youth, he was caught with soft looks and languishing airs, things that are wont to excite the lowest of the passions.

Yet, notwithstanding he had married so extraordinary a woman, he continued his commerce with actresses and female musicians, and sat drinking whole days with a parcel of buffoons about him. His chief favourites at this time were, Roscius the comedian, Sorex the mimic, and Metrobius who used to act a woman's part. These courses added strength to a distemper, that was but slight at the beginning ; and for a long time he knew not that he had an abscess within him. This abscess corrupted his flesh, and turned it all into lice ; so that, though he had many persons employed both day and night to clean him, the part taken away was nothing to that which remained. His whole attire, his baths, his basins, and his food were filled with that perpetual flux of vermin and corruption. And though he bathed many times a day, to cleanse and purify himself, it was in vain. The corruption came on so fast, that it was impossible to overcome it.

We are told, that among the ancients, Acastus, the son of Pelias, died of this sickness ; and of those that come nearer our times, Achman the poet, Pherecydes the divine, Callisthenes the Olyn-

thian who was kept in close prison, and Mucius the lawyer. And if after these we may take notice of a man who did not distinguish himself by anything laudable, but was noted another way, it may be mentioned, that the fugitive slave Eunus, who kindled up the Servile war in Sicily, and was afterwards taken and carried to Rome, died there of this disease.

Sylla not only foresaw his death, but has left something relating to it in his writings. He finished the twenty-second book of his Commentaries only two days before he died : and he tells us that the Chaldeans had predicted, that after a life of glory he would depart in the height of his prosperity. He farther acquaints us, that his son, who died a little before Metella, appeared to him in a dream, dressed in a mean garment, and desired him to bid adieu to his cares, and go along with him to his mother Metella, with whom he should live at ease, and enjoy the charms of tranquillity. He did not, however, withdraw his attention from public affairs. It was but ten days before his death that he reconciled the contending parties at Puteoli,¹ and gave them a set of laws for the regulation of their police. And the very day before he died, upon information that the quæstor Granius would not pay what he was indebted to the state, but waited for his death to avoid paying it at all, he sent for him into his apartment, planted his servants about him, and ordered them to strangle him. The violence with which he spoke, strained him so much, that the imposthume broke, and he voided a vast quantity of blood. His strength now failed fast, and, after he had passed the night in great agonies, he expired. He left two young children by Metella : and Valeria, after his death, was delivered of a daughter called *Posthumia* ; a name given of course by the Romans to such as are born after the death of their father.

Many of Sylla's enemies now combined with Lepidus, to prevent his having the usual honours of burial ; but Pompey, though he was somewhat displeased at Sylla, because, of all his friends, he had left him only out of his will, in this case interposed his authority ; and prevailed upon some by his interest and entreaties, and on others by menaces, to drop their opposition. Then he conveyed the body to Rome, and conducted the whole funeral, not only with security, but with honour. Such was the quantity of spices brought in by the women, that exclusive of those carried in two hundred and ten great baskets, a figure of Sylla at full length, and of a *lictor* besides, was made entirely of cinnamon and the choicest frankincense. The day happened to be so cloudy, and the rain was so much expected, that it was about the ninth hour² before the corpse was carried out. However, it was no sooner laid upon the pile, than a brisk wind blew, and raised so strong a flame, that it was consumed immediately. But after the pile was burned down, and the fire began to die out, a great rain fell which

¹ In the Greek *Dichroarchie*, which is another name for *Puteoli*.

² Three in the afternoon,

lasted till night. So that his good fortune continued to the last, and assisted at his funeral. His monument stands in the *Campus Martius*, and they tell us he wrote an epitaph for himself to this purport: "No friend ever did me so much good, or enemy so much harm, but I repaid him with interest."

SERTORIUS.

IT is not at all astonishing that Fortune, in the variety of her motions through a course of numberless ages, happens often to hit upon the same point, and to produce events perfectly similar. For, if the number of events be infinite, Fortune may easily furnish herself with parallels in such abundance of matter; if their number be limited, there must necessarily be a return of the same occurrences, when the whole is run through.

Some there are who take a pleasure in collecting those accidents and adventures they have met with in history or conversation which have such a characteristic likeness, as to appear the effects of reason and foresight. For example, there were two eminent persons of the name of Attis,¹ the one a Syrian, the other an Arcadian, who were both killed by a boar. There were two Acteons, one of which was torn in pieces by his dogs, and the other by his lovers.² Of the two Scipios, one conquered Carthage, and the other demolished it. Troy was taken three times; the first time by Hercules, on account of Laomedon's horses; the second time by Agamemnon, through means of the wooden horse; the third by Charidemus, a horse happening to stand in the way, and hindering the Trojans from shutting the gates so quickly as they should have done. There are two cities that bear the names of the most odoriferous plants, *Ios*⁴ and *Smyrna*, *Violet* and *Myrrh*, and Homer is said to have been born in the one, and to have died in the other. To these instances we may add, that some of the generals who have been the greatest warriors, and have exerted their capacity for stratagem in the most successful manner, have had but one eye; I mean Philip, Antigonus, Hannibal, and Sertorius, whose life we are now going to write. A man whose con-

¹ Pausanias, in his *Achæles*, mentions one Attis or Attes, the son of Calanus the Phrygian, who introduced the worship of the mother of the gods among the Lydians. He was himself under a natural incapacity of having children, and therefore he might possibly be the first who proposed that all the priests of that goddess should be eunuchs. Pausanias adds, that Jupiter, displeased at his being so great a favourite with her, sent a boar, which ravaged the fields and slew Attis, as well as many of the Lydians. We know nothing of any other Attis.

² Actæon the son of Aristæus, was torn in pieces by his own dogs, and Actæon the son of Melampus by the Bacchides. See the Scholiast upon Apollonius, Book iv.

³ These are all instances of events being under the guidance of an intelligent being. Nay they are such peculiarities as Timæus himself scarce ever gave into.

⁴ Some suppose Ios to have been an island rather than a town. But if it was an island, there might be a town in it of the same name, which was often the case in the Greek islands.

duct, with respect to women, was preferable to that of Philip, who was more faithful to his friends than Antigonos, and more humane to his enemies than Hannibal; but, though he was inferior to none of them in capacity, he fell short of them all in success. Fortune, indeed, was ever more cruel to him than his most inveterate and avowed enemies; yet he showed himself a match for Metellus in experience, for Pompey in noble daring, for Sylla in his victories, nay, for the whole Roman people in power; and was all the while an exile and a sojourner among barbarians.

The Grecian general who, we think, most resembles him, is Lumenes of Cardia.¹ Both of them excelled in point of generalship, in all the art of stratagem, as well as courage. Both were banished their own countries, and commanded armies in others. And both had to contend with Fortune, who persecuted them so violently, that at last they were assassinated through the treachery of those very persons whom they had often led to victory.

Quintus Sertorius was of a respectable family in the town of Nursia, and country of the Sabines. Having lost his father when a child, he had a liberal education given him by his mother, whom on that account he always loved with the greatest tenderness. Her name was Rhea. He was sufficiently qualified to speak in a court of justice, and by his abilities that way gained some interest, when but a youth, in Rome itself. But his greater talents for the camp, and his success as a soldier, turned his ambition into that channel.

He made his first campaign under Cæpio,² when the Cimbri and Teutones broke into Gaul. The Romans fought a battle, in which their behaviour was but indifferent, and they were put to the rout. On this occasion Sertorius lost his horse, and received many wounds himself, yet he swam the river Rhone, armed as he was with his breast-plate and shield, in spite of the violence of the torrent. Such was his strength of body, and so much had he improved that strength by exercise.

The same enemy came on a second time, with such prodigious numbers, and such dreadful menaces, that it was difficult to prevail with a Roman to keep his post, or to obey his general. Marius had then the command, and Sertorius offered his service to go as a spy, and bring him an account of the enemy. For this purpose he took a Gaulish habit, and having learned as much of the language as might suffice for common address, he mingled with the barbarians. When he had seen and heard enough to let him into the measures they were taking, he returned to Marius, who honoured him with the established rewards of valour, and, during that whole war, he gave such proofs of his courage and capacity, as raised him to distinction, and perfectly gained him the confidence of his general.

After the war with the Cimbri and Teutones, he was sent as a

¹ In the Thracian Chersonesus.

² In the printed text it is Scipio, but two MSS. give us Cæpio. And it certainly was. Q. Servilius Cæpio, who, with the

consul Cn. Mallius was defeated by the Cimbri, in the fourth year, Olympiad 108, B. C. 108.

legionary tribune, under Didius, into Spain, and took up his winter quarters in Castulo,¹ a city of the Celtiberians. The soldiers, living in great plenty, behaved in an insolent and disorderly manner, and commonly drank to intoxication. The barbarians, seeing this, held them in contempt; and one night having got assistance from their neighbours the Gyriscenians,² they entered the houses where they were quartered, and put them to the sword. Sertorius, with a few more, having found means to escape, sallied out and collected all that he had got out of the hands of the barbarians. Then he marched round the town and finding the gate open at which the Gyriscenians had been privately admitted, he entered; but took care not to commit the same error they had done. He placed a guard there, made himself master of all the quarters of the town, and slew all the inhabitants who were able to bear arms. After this execution, he ordered his soldiers to lay aside their own arms and clothes, and take those of the barbarians, and to follow him in that form to the city of the Gyriscenians. The people, deceived by the suits of armour and habits they were acquainted with, opened their gates and sallied forth, in expectation of meeting their friends and fellow-citizens in all the joy of success. The consequence of which was, that the greatest part of them were cut in pieces at the gates: the rest surrendered, and were sold as slaves.

By this manœuvre, the name of Sertorius became famous in Spain; and upon his return to Rome, he was appointed quæstor in the Cisalpine Gaul. That appointment was a very seasonable one for the Marian war soon breaking out, and Sertorius being employed to levy troops and to provide arms, he proceeded in that commission with such expedition and activity, that, while effeminacy and supineness were spreading among the rest of the Roman youth, he was considered as a man of spirit and enterprise.

Nor did his martial intrepidity abate, when he arrived at the degree of general. His personal exploits were still great, and he faced danger in the most fearless manner; in consequence of which he had one of his eyes struck out. This, however, he always gloried in. He said others did not always carry about with them the honourable badges of their valour, but sometimes laid aside their chains, their truncheons, and coronets; while he had perpetually the evidences of his bravery about him, and those who saw his misfortune, at the same time beheld his courage. *The people, too, treated him with the highest respect. When he entered the theatre, they received him with the loudest plaudits and acclamations;* an honour which officers distinguished for their age and achievements did not easily obtain.

Yet when he stood for the office of tribune of the people, he lost it through the opposition of Sylla's faction; which was the chief cause of his perpetual enmity against Sylla. When Marius was

¹ A town of New Castile, on the southern coast of Andalusia.

² The Gyriscenians being a people whom we know nothing of, it has been

conjectured that we should read *Orisiana*. The Orisians were of that district. See Cellerius.

overpowered by Sylla, and fled for his life, and Sylla was gone to carry on the war against Mithridates, Octavius, one of the consuls, remained in Sylla's interest ; but Cinna, the other consul, whose temper was restless and seditious, endeavoured to revive the sinking faction of Marius. Sertorius joined the latter ; the rather because he perceived that Octavius did not act with vigour, and that he distrusted the friends of Marius.

Some time after, *a great battle was fought by the consuls in the forum*, in which Octavius was victorious, and Cinna and Sertorius having lost not much less than 10,000 men, were forced to fly. But, as there were a number of troops scattered up and down in Italy, they gained them by promises, and with that addition found themselves able to make head against Octavius again. At the same time Marius arrived from Africa, and offered to range himself under the banners of Cinna, as a private man under the consul. The officers were of opinion that they ought to receive him ; only Sertorius opposed it. Whether it was that he thought Cinna would not pay so much attention to him, when he had a man of so much greater name, as a general, in his army ; or whether he feared, the cruelty of Marius would throw all their affairs into confusion again ; as he indulged his resentments without any regard to justice or moderation whenever he had the advantage. He remonstrated, that as they were already superior to the enemy, they had not much left to do ; but if they admitted Marius among them, he would rob them of all the honour and the power at the same time, for he could not endure an associate in command, and was treacherous in everything where his own interest was concerned.

Cinna answered, that the sentiments of Sertorius were perfectly right, but that he was ashamed, and knew not how to reject Marius, when he had invited him to take a part in the direction of affairs. Sertorius replied, " I imagined that Marius had come of his own accord into Italy, and pointed out to you what in that case was most expedient for you to do ; but as he came upon your invitation, you should not have deliberated¹ a moment whether he was to be admitted or not. You should have received him immediately. True honour leaves no room for doubt and hesitation."

Cinna then sent for Marius ; and the forces being divided into three parts, each of these three great officers had a command. When the war was over, Cinna and Marius gave into every kind of insolence and cruelty. Sertorius alone neither put any man to death to glut his own revenge, nor committed any other outrage ; on the contrary, he reproached Marius with his savage proceedings, and applying to Cinna in private, prevailed with him to make a more moderate use of his power. At last, finding that the slaves (the *Bardiæans*), whom Marius had admitted his fellow soldiers, and afterwards employed as the guards of his tyranny, were a strong and numerous body ; and that partly by order or permission of Marius, partly by their native ferocity, they proceeded to the

¹ Qui deliberant desciverunt -- TAORZ.

greatest excesses, killing their masters, abusing their mistresses, and violating their children; he concluded, that these outrages were insupportable, and shot them all with arrows in their camp, though not less than 4000 in number.

After the death of Marius, the assassination of Cinna that followed it, and the appointment of young Marius to the consulship, contrary to the will of Sertorius and the laws of Rome, Carbo, Scipio, and Norbanus carried on the war against Sylla, now returned to Italy, but without any success. For sometimes the officers behaved in a mean and dastardly manner, and sometimes the troops deserted in large bodies. In this case Sertorius began to think his presence of no importance, as he saw their affairs under a miserable direction, and that persons of the least understanding had most power. He was the more confirmed in his opinion, when Sylla, encamped near Scipio, and, amusing him with caresses, under pretence of an approaching peace, was all the while corrupting his troops. Sertorius advertised Scipio of it several times, and told him what the event would be, but he never listened to him.

Then giving up Rome for lost, he retired with the utmost expedition into Spain; hoping, if he could get the government there into his hands, to be able to afford protection to such of his friends as might be beaten in Italy. He met with dreadful storms on his way, and when he came to the mountains adjoining to Spain, the barbarians insisted that he should pay toll, and purchase his passage over them. Those who attended him were fired with indignation, and thought it an insufferable thing for a Roman proconsul to pay toll to such a crew of barbarians. But he made light of the seeming disgrace, and said, "*Time was the thing he purchased, than which nothing in the world could be more precious to a man engaged in great attempts.*" He therefore satisfied the demands of the mountaineers, and passed over into Spain without losing a moment.

He found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war, but at the same time the people, oppressed by the avarice and rapacity of former governors, were ill disposed towards any Roman Government whatever. To remove this aversion, he tried to gain the better sort by his affable and obliging manner, and the populace by lowering the taxes. But his excusing them from providing quarters for the soldiers was the most agreeable measure. For he ordered his men to pass the winter in tents without the walls, and he set them the example. He did not, however, place his whole dependence upon the attachment of the barbarians. Whatever Romans had settled there, and were fit to bear arms, he incorporated with his troops: he provided such a variety of warlike machines, and built such a number of ships, as kept the cities in awe: and though his address was mild and gentle in peace, he made himself formidable by his preparations for war.

As soon as he was informed that Sylla had made himself master of Rome, and that the faction of Marius and Carbo was entirely suppressed, he concluded that an army would soon be sent against

him under the conduct of an able general. For this reason he sent Julius Salinator, with 6000 foot, to block up the passes of the Pyrenees. In a little time Caius Annius arrived on the part of Sylla ; and seeing it impossible to dislodge Salinator, he sat down at the foot of the mountain, not knowing how to proceed. While he was in this perplexity, one Calpurnius, surnamed Lenarius, assassinated Salinator, and his troops thereupon quitting the Pyrenees, Annius passed them, easily repulsing with his great army the few that opposed him. Sertorius not being in a condition to give him battle, retired with 3000 men to New Carthage ; where he embarked, and crossed over to Africa. The Maurusian coast was the land he touched upon , and his men going upon shore there to water, and not being on their guard, the barbarians fell upon them, and killed a considerable number ; so that he was forced to make back for Spain. He found the coasts guarded, and that it was impracticable to make descent there ; but having met with some vessels of Cilician pirates, he persuaded them to join him, and made his landing good in the isle of Pitiusa (*Ivica*), forcing his way through the guards which Annius had placed there.

Soon after Annius made his appearance with a numerous fleet, on board of which were 5000 men. Sertorius ventured to engage him , though his vessels were small, and made rather for swift sailing than strength. But a violent west-wind springing up, raised such a storm, that the greatest part of Sertorius's ships, being too light to bear up against it, were driven upon the rocky shore. Sertorius himself was prevented by the storm from making his way at sea, and by the enemy from landing ; so that he was tossed about by the waves for ten days together, and at last escaped with great difficulty.

At length the wind abated, and he ran in among some scattered islands in that quarter. There he landed ; but finding they were without water, he put to sea again, crossed the Straits of Gades, and keeping to the right, landed a little above the mouth of the river Bætis, which running through a large track to discharge itself in the Atlantic Ocean, gives name to all that part of Spain through which it passes (*Andalusia*). There he found some mariners lately arrived from the Atlantic Islands (the Canaries). These are two in number, separated only by a narrow channel, and are at the distance of 400 leagues¹ from the African coast. They are called the *Fortunate Islands*. Rain seldom falls there, and when it does, it falls moderately , but they generally have soft breezes, which scatter such rich dews, that the soil is not only good for sowing and planting, but spontaneously produces the most excellent fruits, and those in such abundance, that the inhabitants have nothing more to do than to indulge themselves in the enjoyment of ease. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, through the happy temperature of the seasons, and their insensible transition into each other. For the N. and E. winds which blow from

¹ In the original *ten thousand furlongs*

our continent, in the immense track they have to pass, are dissipated and lost: while the sea winds, that is, the S. and the W. bring with them from the ocean slight and gentle showers, but oftener only a refreshing moisture, which imperceptibly scatters plenty on their plains. So that it is generally believed, even among the barbarians, that these are the Elysian Fields, and the seats of the blessed, which Homer has described in the charms of verse, *Odyss. iv.*

Sertorius hearing these wonders, conceived a strong desire to fix himself in those islands, where he might live in perfect tranquillity, at a distance from the evils of tyranny and war. The Cilicians, who wanted neither peace nor repose, but riches and spoils, no sooner perceived this, than they bore away for Africa, to restore Ascalis the son of Iphtha to the throne of Mauritania. Sertorius, far from giving himself up to despair, resolved to go and assist the people who were at war with Ascalis, in order to open to his troops another prospect in this new employment, and to prevent their relinquishing him for want of support. His arrival was very acceptable to the Moors, and he soon beat Ascalis in a pitched battle; after which he besieged him in the place to which he retired.

Hereupon, Sylla interposed, and sent Paccianus with a considerable force to the assistance of Ascalis. Sertorius meeting him in the field, defeated and killed him; and having incorporated his troops with his own, assaulted and took the city of Tingis,¹ whither Ascalis and his brothers had fled for refuge. The Africans tell us the body of Antæus lies there; and Sertorius, not giving credit to what the barbarians related of his gigantic size, opened his tomb for satisfaction. But how great was his surprise, when (according to the account we have of it) he beheld a body sixty cubits long. He immediately offered sacrifices, and closed up the tomb; which added greatly to the respect and reputation it had before.

The people of Tingis relate, that after the death of Antæus, Hercules took his widow Tinga to his bed, and had by her a son named Sophax, who reigned over that country, and founded a city to which he gave his mother's name. They add, that Diodorus, the son of Sophax, subdued many African nations with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of Olbians and Mycencians settled here by Hercules. These particulars we mention for the sake of Juba, the best of all royal historians; for he is said to have been a descendant of Sophax and Diodorus, the son and grandson of Hercules.

Sertorius having thus cleared the field, did no sort of harm to those who surrendered themselves or placed a confidence in him. He restored them their possessions and cities, and put the government in their hands again; taking nothing for himself but what they voluntarily offered him.

¹ In the text *Tingens*. Strabo tells us, the barbarians call it *Tinga*, that Artemi-

dorus gives it the name of *L'nes*, and Eratosthenes that of *L'rus*.

As he was deliberating which way he should next turn his arms, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to invite him to take the command among them. For they wanted a general of his reputation and experience, to support them against the terror of the Roman eagles ; and he was the only one on whose character and firmness they could properly depend. Indeed, he is said to have been proof against the impressions both of pleasure and fear ; intrepid in time of danger, and not too much elated with more prosperous fortune ; in any great and sudden attempt as daring as any general of his time, and where art and contrivance, as well as despatch, was necessary for seizing a pass or securing a stronghold, one of the greatest masters of stratagem in the world ; noble and generous in rewarding great actions and in punishing offences very moderate.

It is true his treatment of the Spanish hostages in the latter part of his life, which bore such strong marks of cruelty and revenge, seems to argue that the clemency he showed before, was not a real virtue in him, but only a pretended one, taken up to suit his occasions. I think indeed, that *the virtue which is sincere, and founded upon reason, can never be so conquered by any stroke whatever, as to give place to the opposite.* Yet dispositions naturally humane and good, by great and undeserved calamities may possibly be soured a little, and the man may change with his fortune. This, I am persuaded, was the case of Sertorius ; when fortune forsook him, his disposition was sharpened by disappointment, and he became severe to those who injured or betrayed him.

At present having accepted the invitation to Lusitania, he took his voyage from Africa thither. Upon his arrival he was invested with full authority as general, and levied forces, with which he reduced the neighbouring provinces. Numbers voluntarily came over to him, on account of his reputation for clemency as well as the vigour of his proceedings. And to these advantages he added artifice to amuse and gain the people.

That of the hind was none of the least.¹ Spanus, a countryman who lived in those parts happening to fall in with a hind which had newly yeaned, and which was flying from the hunters, failed in his attempt to take her ; but charmed with the uncommon colour of the fawn, which was a perfect white, he pursued and took it. By good fortune Sertorius had his camp in that neighbourhood ; and whatever was brought to him taken in hunting, or of the productions of the field, he received with pleasure, and returned the civility with interest. The countryman went and offered him the fawn. He received this present like the rest, and at first took no extraordinary notice of it. But in time it became so tractable and fond of him, that it would come when he called, follow him wherever he went, and learned to bear the hurry and tumult of the camp. By little and little he brought the people to believe there was something sacred and mysterious in the affair : giving it out that the fawn was a gift from Diana, and that it discovered to him many important

¹ Sertorius had learned these arts of Marcius.

secrets. For he knew the natural power of superstition over the minds of the barbarians. In pursuance of his scheme, when the enemy was making a private irruption into the country under his command, or persuading some city to revolt, he pretended the fawn had appeared to him in a dream, and warned him to have his forces ready. And if he had intelligence of some victory gained by his officers, he used to conceal the messenger, and produce the fawn crowned with flowers for its good tidings; bidding the people rejoice and sacrifice to the gods, on account of some news they would soon hear.

By this invention he made them so tractable that they obeyed his orders in everything without hesitation, no longer considering themselves as under the conduct of a stranger, but the immediate direction of Heaven. And the astonishing increase of his power, far beyond all they could rationally expect, confirmed them in that persuasion. For, with 2,600 men, whom he called Romans (though among them there were 700 Africans who came over with him), and an addition of 4,000 light-armed Lusitanians and 700 horse, he carried on the war against four Roman generals, who had 120,000 foot, 6,000 horse, 2,000 archers and slingers, and cities without number under their command; though at first he had twenty cities only. Nevertheless, with so trifling a force, and such small beginnings, he subdued several great nations, and took many cities. Of the generals who opposed him, he beat Cotta at sea in the straits over against Mellaria; he defeated Phidius¹ who had the chief command in Bættica, and killed 4000 Romans upon the banks of the Bætis. By his quæstor he beat Domitius and Lucius Manlius, proconsul of the other Spain: he likewise slew Thoranias,² one of the officers sent against him by Metellus, together with his whole army. Nay, Metellus himself, a general of as great reputation as any the Romans then had, was entangled by him in such difficulties, and reduced to such extremities, that he was forced to call in Lucius Lollius from Gallia Narbonensis to his assistance, and Pompey the Great was sent with another army from Rome with the utmost expedition. For Metellus knew not what measures to take against so daring an enemy, who was continually harassing him, and yet would not come to a pitched battle, and who, by the lightness and activity of the Spanish troops, turned himself into all manner of forms. He was sufficiently skilled, indeed, in set battles, and he commanded a firm heavy-armed infantry, which knew how to repulse and bear down anything that would make head against them, but had no experience in climbing mountains, or capacity to vie in flying and pursuing men as swift as the wind. *Nor could his troops bear hunger, eat anything undressed, or lie upon the ground without tents, like those of Sertorius.* Besides Metellus was now advanced in years, and after his many

¹ X; Lander has it *Didius*, which is agreeable to some MSS.; Crassius, upon conjecture only, reads it, *Agathus*. Prynham, in his Supplement to Livy

(xo. 28) calls this general *Phidius*; and he might do it upon the authority of some ancient manuscript of Plutarch.

² Florus has it *Thorianus*.

campaigns and long service, had begun to indulge himself in a more delicate way of living ; whereas Sertorius was in the vigour of his age, full of spirits, and had brought strength and activity to the greatest perfection by exercise and abstemiousness. He never indulged in wine, even when he had nothing else to do ; and he had accustomed himself to bear labour and fatigue, to make long marches, and pass many successive nights without sleep, though supported all the while with mean and slender diet. By bestowing his leisure on hunting and traversing all the country for game, he had gained such a knowledge of the impracticable as well as open parts of it, that when he wanted to fly, he found no manner of difficulty in it ; and if he had occasion to pursue or surround the enemy he could do so with ease.

Hence it was that Metellus, in being prevented from coming to any regular action, suffered all the inconveniences of a defeat, and Sertorius gained as much by flying as he could have done by conquering and pursuing. For he cut his adversary off from water, and prevented his foraging. If the Romans began to march, he was on the wing to harass them, and if they sat still, he galled them in such a manner, that they were forced to quit their post. If they invested a town, he was soon upon them, and by cutting off their convoys, as it were besieged the besiegers inso much, that they began to give up the point, and to call upon Metellus to accept the challenge that Sertorius had given, insisting that general should fight with general, and Roman with Roman ; and when he declined it, they ridiculed and abused him. Metellus only laughed at them, and he did perfectly right, for, as Theophrastus says, *"A general should die like a general, and not like a common soldier."*

He found that the Langobritæ were very serviceable to Sertorius, and perceived, at the same time, that he might soon bring them to surrender for want of water ; for they had but one well in the city, and an enemy might immediately make himself master of the springs in the suburbs, and under the walls. He therefore advanced against the town, but concluding he should take it within two days, he ordered his troops to take only five days' provisions with them. But Sertorius gave the people speedy assistance. He got 2,000 skins, and filled them with water, promising a good reward for the care of each vessel or skin. A number of Spaniards and Moors offered their service on this occasion, and having selected the strongest and swiftest of them, he sent them along the mountains with orders, when they delivered these vessels, to take all useless persons out of the town, that the water might be fully sufficient for the rest during the whole course of the siege.

When Metellus was informed of this manœuvre, he was greatly concerned at it ; and as his provisions began to fail, he sent out Aquilius with 6,000 men to collect fresh supplies. Sertorius, who had early intelligence of it, laid an ambush for Aquilius, and upon his return, 3,000 men, who were placed in the shady channel of a brook for the purpose, rose up and attacked him in the rear. At

the same time Sertorius himself charged him in front, killed a considerable number of his party, and took the rest prisoners. Aquilius got back to Metellus, but with the loss both of his horse and his arms; whereupon Metellus retired with disgrace, greatly insulted and ridiculed by the Spaniards.

This success procured Sertorius the admiration and esteem of the Spaniards; but what charmed them still more was that he armed them in the Roman manner, taught them to keep their ranks, and to obey the word of command; so that, instead of exerting their strength in a savage and disorderly manner, and behaving like a multitude of banditti, he polished them into regular forces. Another agreeable circumstance was, that he furnished them with abundance of gold and silver to gild their helmets, and enrich their shields; and that he taught them to wear embroidered vests, and magnificent coats; nor did he give them supplies only for these purposes, but he set them the example.¹ The finishing stroke was his collecting from the various nations, the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca,² and his furnishing them with masters to instruct them in the Grecian and Roman literature. This had the appearance only of an education, to prepare them to be admitted citizens of Rome, and to fit them for important commissions; but, in fact, the children were so many hostages. Meanwhile the parents were delighted to see their sons in gowns bordered with purple, and walking in great state to the schools, without any expense to them. For Sertorius took the whole upon himself, often examining besides into the improvements they made, and distributing proper rewards to those of most merit, among which were the golden ornaments furling down from the neck, called by the Romans *bulla*.

It was then the custom in Spain, for the band which fought near the general's person, when he fell to die with him. This manner of devoting themselves to death the barbarians call a *Libation*.³ The other generals had but a few of these guards or knights companions; whereas Sertorius was attended by many myriads, who had laid themselves under that obligation. It is said, that when he was once defeated near the walls of a town, and the enemy were pressing hard upon him, the Spaniards, to save Sertorius, exposed themselves without any precaution. They passed him upon their shoulders, from one to another, till he had gained the walls, and when their general was secure, then they dispersed, and died for their own lives.

Nor was he beloved by the Spanish soldiers only, but by those which came from Italy too. When Perpenna Vento, who was of the same party with Sertorius, came into Spain with a great quantity of money, and a respectable army, intending to proceed

¹ Alexander had taken the same method, before him, among the Persians. For he ordered 30,000 Persian boys to be taught Greek, and trained in the Macedonian manner.

² A city in Hispania Tarraconensis.

³ In Gaul, the persons who laid themselves under this obligation were called *Soldani*, Cass. de Bell. Gall. l. iii.

in his operations against Metellus upon his own bottom ; the troops disliked the scheme, and nothing was talked of in the camp but Sertorius. This gave great uneasiness to Perpenna, who was much elated with his high birth and opulent fortune. Nor did the matter stop here. Upon their having intelligence that Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, the soldiers took up their arms and standards, and loudly called upon Perpenna to lead them to Sertorius ; threatening, if he would not comply, to leave him, and go to a general who knew how to save both himself and those under his command. So that Perpenna was forced to yield, and he went and joined Sertorius with 53 cohorts.¹

Sertorius now found himself at the head of a great army ; for, besides the junction of Perpenna, all the countries within the Iberus had adopted his interest, and troops were daily flocking in on all sides. But it gave him pain to see them behave with the disorder and ferocity of barbarians ; to find them calling upon him to give the signal to charge, and impatient of the least delay. He tried what mild representations would do, and they had no effect. They still continued obstinate and clamorous, often demanding the combat in a very unseasonable manner. At last he permitted them to engage in their own way, in consequence of which they would suffer great loss, though he designed to prevent their being entirely defeated. These checks, he hoped, would make them more willing to be under discipline.

The event answered his expectation. They fought and were beaten ; but making up with succours, he rallied the fugitives, and conducted them safe into the camp. His next step was to rouse them up out of their despondence. For which purpose, a few days after, he assembled all his forces, and produced two horses before them ; the one old and feeble, the other large and strong, and remarkable besides for a fine flowing tail. By the poor weak horse stood a robust able-bodied man, and by the strong horse stood a little man of a very contemptible appearance. Upon a signal given the strong man began to pull and drag about the weak horse by the tail, as if he would pull it off ; and the little man to pluck off the hairs of the great horse's tail, one by one. The former tugged and toiled a long time to the great diversion of the spectators, and at last was forced to give up the point ; the latter, without any difficulty, soon stripped the great horse's tail of all its hair.² Then Sertorius rose up and said, "You see, my friends and fellow-soldiers, how much greater are the effects of perseverance, than those of force, and that there are many things invincible in their collective capacity and in a state of union, which may gradually be overcome when they are once separated. In short, perseverance is irresistible. By this means, time attacks and destroys the strongest things upon earth. Time, I say, who is the best friend and ally to those who have the discernment to use it properly, and watch the opportunities it presents, and the worst enemy to those

¹ A cohort is the tenth part of a legion.

² I borrow all ideas to this. I. ep. 1.

who will be rushing into action when it does not call them." By such symbols as these, Sertorius applied to the senses of the barbarians, and instructed them to wait for proper junctures and occasions.

But his contrivance with respect to the Characitan¹ gained him as much admiration as any of his military performances whatever. The Characitan are seated beyond the river Tagus. They have neither cities nor villages, but dwell upon a large and lofty hill, in dens and caverns of the rocks, the mouths of which are all to the north. The soil of all the country about it is a clay, so very light and crumbly, that it yields to the pressure of the foot, is reduced to powder by the least touch, and flies about like ashes or unslaked lime. The barbarians, whenever they are apprehensive of an attack, retire to these caves with their booty, and look upon themselves as in a place perfectly impregnable.

It happened that Sertorius, retiring to some distance from Metellus, encamped under this hill. and the savage inhabitants imagining he retired only because he was beaten, offered him several insults. Sertorius, either provoked at such treatment or willing to show them he was not flying from any enemy, mounted his horse the next day, and went to reconnoitre the place. As he could see no part in which it was accessible, he almost despaired of taking it, and could only vent his anger in vain menaces. At last he observed, that the wind blew the dust in great quantities towards the mouths of the caves, which are all to the north. The north wind, which some call *Cæcias*,² prevails most in those parts, taking its rise from the marshy grounds, and the mountains covered with snow. And as it was then the height of summer, it was remarkably strong, having fresh supplies from the melting of the ice on the northern peaks; so that it blew a most agreeable gale, which in the day-time refreshed both these savages and their flocks.

Sertorius reflecting upon what he saw, and being informed by the neighbouring Spaniards that these were the usual appearance³ ordered his soldiers to collect vast quantities of that dry and crumbly earth, so as to raise a mount of it over against the hill. The barbarians imagining he intended to storm their strongholds from that mount, laughed at his proceedings. The soldiers went on with their work all night, and then he led them back into the camp. Next morning, at break of day, a gentle breeze sprung up,⁴ which moved the lightest part of the heap, and dispersed it like smoke, and as the sun got up higher the *Cæcias* blew again, and by its violence covered all the hill with dust. Meantime the soldiers stirred up the heap from the very bottom, and crumbled all the clay; and some galloped up and down to raise the light earth, and thicken the clouds of dust in the wind; which carried them into the dwellings of the Characitan; their entrances directly facing it. As they were caves, and, of course, had no other aperture, the eyes

¹ M-dm inter Aquilorem et Fzortum
Equinoctialem Plin. l. ii. c. 47

² Narrant et in Porto Cæcian in æ
treasure subas. Id.

of the inhabitants were soon filled, and they could scarce breathe for the suffocating dust which they drew in with the air. In these wretched circumstances they held out two days, though with great difficulty, and the third day surrendered themselves to Sertorius at discretion; who, by reducing them, did not gain such an accession of strength as of honour. For an honour it was to subdue those by policy, whom his arms could not reach.

While he carried on the war against Metellus only, his success in general was imputed to the old age and inactivity of his adversary, who had to contend with a bold young man, at the head of troops so light, that they might pass rather for a marauding party, than a regular army. But when Pompey had passed the Pyrenees, and Sertorius took post against him, every art of generalship on both sides was exhausted, and yet even then it appeared, that in point both of attack and defence, Sertorius had the advantage. In this case, the fame of Sertorius greatly increased, and extended itself as far as Rome, where he was considered the ablest general of his time. Indeed, the honour Pompey had acquired was very considerable, and the actions he had performed under Sylla, set him in a very respectable light, insomuch that *Sylla had given him the appellation of THE GREAT, and he was distinguished with a triumph, even before he wrote man.* This made many of the cities, which were under the command of Sertorius, cast their eyes upon Pompey, and inclined them to open their gates to him. But they returned to their old attachment, upon the unexpected success that attended Sertorius at Lauron.¹

Sertorius was besieging that place, and Pompey marched with his whole army to its relief. There was a hill at some distance from the walls, from which the city might be greatly annoyed. Sertorius hastened to seize it, and Pompey to prevent him: but the former gained the post. Pompey, however, sat down by it with great satisfaction, thinking he had been fortunate enough to cut Sertorius off from the town; and he sent a message to the Lauronites, "That they might be perfectly easy, and sit quietly upon their walls, while they saw him besiege Sertorius." But when that general was informed of it, he only laughed, and said, "I will teach that scholar of Sylla" (so in ridicule he called Pompey,) "that a general ought to look behind him, rather than before him." At the same time he showed the besieged a body of 6,000 foot in the camp which he had quitted in order to seize the hill, and which had been left there on purpose to take Pompey in the rear, when he should come to attack Sertorius in the post he now occupied.

Pompey, not discovering this manœuvre till it was too late, did not dare to begin the attack, lest he should be surrounded. And yet he was ashamed to leave the Lauronites in such extreme danger. The consequence was, that he was obliged to sit still and see the town lost. The people, in despair of assistance, surrendered to

Sertorius who was pleased to spare the inhabitants, and let them go free ; but he laid their city in ashes. This was not done out of anger, or a spirit of cruelty (for he seems to have indulged his resentment less than any other general whatever), but to put the admirers of Pompey to the blush ; while it was said among the barbarians, that though he was at hand, and almost warmed himself at the flame, he suffered his allies to perish.

It is true, Sertorius received many checks in the course of the war ; but it was not where he acted in person ; for he ever continued invincible ; it was through his lieutenants. And such was his manner of rectifying the mistakes, that he met with more applause than his adversaries in the midst of their success. Instances of which we have in the battle of Sucro with Pompey, and in that of Tutia¹ with Pompey and Metellus.

As to the battle of Sucro, we are told it was fought the sooner, because Pompey hastened it, to prevent Metellus from having a share in the victory. This was the very thing Sertorius wanted, to try his strength with Pompey, before Metellus joined him. Sertorius came up and engaged him in the evening. This he did out of choice, in the persuasion that the enemy, not being acquainted with the country, would find darkness a hindrance to them, whether they should have occasion to fly or to pursue. When they came to charge, he found that he had not to do with Pompey, as he could have wished, but that Afranius commanded the enemy's left wing opposite to him who was at the head of his own right wing. However, as soon as he understood that his left gave way to the vigorous impressions of Pompey, he put his right under the direction of other officers and hastened to support that which had the disadvantage. By rallying the fugitives and encouraging those who kept their ground, he forced Pompey to fly in great confusion, who before was pursuing : nay, that general was in the greatest danger ; he was wounded, and got off with difficulty. For the Africans, who fought under the banners of Sertorius, having taken Pompey's horse, adorned with gold and other rich furniture, left the pursuit, to quarrel about dividing the spoil. In the meantime, when Sertorius was flown from his right wing to succour the other in distress, Afranius overthrew all before him, and closely pursuing the fugitives, entered their camp with them, which he pillaged till it was dark ; he knew nothing of Pompey's defeat, and was unable to keep the soldiers from plundering, if he had desired it. At this instant Sertorius returns with the laurels he had won, falls upon the troops of Afranius, which were scattered up and down the camp, and destroys great numbers of them. Next morning he armed, and took the field again ; but perceiving that Metellus was at hand, he drew off and decamped. He did it, however, with an air of gaiety : " If the old woman," said he, " had not been here, I would have flogged the boy well, and sent him back to Rome "

¹ Orovius conjectures, that we should read *Tutia*, the *Turris Letia* a river which falls into the *Sucro*

He was, notwithstanding, much afflicted for the loss of his hind. For she was an excellent engine in the management of the barbarians, who now wanted encouragement more than ever. By good fortune some of his soldiers, as they were strolling one night about the country, met with her, and knowing her by the colour, brought her to him. Sertorius, happy to find her again, promised the soldiers large sums, on condition they would not mention the affair. He carefully concealed the hind, and a few days after, appeared in public with a cheerful countenance to transact business, telling the barbarian officers that he had some extraordinary happiness announced to him from heaven in a dream. Then he mounted the tribunal, for the despatch of such affairs as might come before him. At that instant the hind being let loose near the place by those who had the charge of her, and seeing Sertorius, ran up with great joy, leaped upon the tribunal, laid her head upon his lap, and licked his right hand, in a manner to which she had long been trained. Sertorius returned her caresses with all the tokens of a sincere affection, even to the shedding of tears. The assembly at first looked on with silent astonishment, but afterwards they testified their regard for Sertorius with the loudest plaudits and acclamations, as a person of a superior nature beloved by the gods. With these impressions they conducted him to his pavilion, and resumed all the hopes and spirits with which he could have wished to inspire them.

He watched the enemy so close in the plains of Saguntum, that they were in great want of provisions, and as they were determined at last to go out to forage and collect necessaries, this unavoidably brought on a battle. Great acts of valour were performed on both sides. Memmius, the best officer Pompey had, fell in the hottest of the fight. Sertorius carried all before him, and through heaps of the slain made his way towards Metellus, who made great efforts to oppose him, and fought with a vigour above his years, but at last was borne down with the stroke of a spear. All the Romans, who saw or heard of his disaster, resolved not to abandon their general, and from an impulse of shame as well as anger, they turned upon the enemy, and sheltered Metellus with their shields, till others carried him off in safety. Then they charged the Spaniards with great fury, and routed them in their turn.

As victory had now changed sides, Sertorius, to secure a safe retreat for his troops, as well as convenient time for raising fresh forces, had the art to retire into a city strongly situated upon a mountain. He repaired the walls, and barricaded the gates, as though he thought of nothing less than standing a siege. The enemy, however, were deceived by appearances. They invested the place, and, in the imagination that they should make themselves masters of it without difficulty, took no care to pursue the fugitive barbarians, or to prevent the new levies which the officers of Sertorius were making. These officers he had sent to the towns under his command, with instructions, when they had assembled a sufficient number, to send a messenger to acquaint him with it.

Upon the receipt of such intelligence, he sallied out, and having made his way through the enemy without much trouble, he joined his new-raised troops, and returned with that additional strength. He now cut off the Roman convoys both by sea and land ; at land, by laying ambushes or hemming them in, and, by the rapidity of his motions, meeting them in every quarter ; at sea, by guarding the coast with his light piratical vessels. In consequence of this, the Romans were obliged to separate. Metellus retired into Gaul, and Pompey went and took up his winter quarters in the territories of the Vacceians, where he was greatly distressed for want of money ; insomuch that he informed the senate, he should soon leave the country, if they did not supply him ; for he had already sacrificed his own fortune in the defence of Italy. Indeed, the common discourse was, that Sertorius would be in Italy before Pompey. So far had his capacity prevailed over the most distinguished and the ablest generals in Rome.

The opinion which Metellus had of him, and the dread of his abilities, was evident from a proclamation then published ; in which Metellus offered a reward of 100 talents of silver, and 20,000 acres of land to any Roman who should take him ; and if that Roman was an exile, he promised he should be restored to his country. Thus he plainly discovered his despair of conquering his enemy, by the price which he set upon him. When he happened once to defeat him in a pitched battle, he was so elated with the advantage, and thought the event so fortunate, that he suffered himself to be saluted as *Imperator* ; and the cities received him with sacrifices and every testimony of gratitude to the gods at their altars. Nay, it is said, he received crowns of victory, that he made most magnificent entertainments on the occasion, and wore a triumphal robe. Victories, in effigy, descended in machines, with trophies of gold and garlands in their hands ; and choirs of boys and virgins sung songs in his praise. These circumstances were extremely ridiculous, if he expressed so much joy and such superabundant vanity, while he called Sertorius a fugitive from Sylla, and the poor remains of Carbo's faction.

On the other hand, the magnanimity of Sertorius appeared in every step he took. The patricians, who had been obliged to fly from Rome, and take refuge with him, he called a senate. Out of them he appointed quæstors and lieutenants, and in everything proceeded according to the laws of his country. What was of still greater moment, though he made war with only the arms, the money, and the men of Spain, he did not suffer the Spaniards to have the least share in any department of government, even in words or titles. He gave them Roman generals and governors ; to make it appear that the liberty of Rome was his great object, and that he did not want to set up the Spaniards against the Romans. In fact, *he was a true lover of his country, and his passion to be restored to it was one of the first in his heart.* Yet, in his greatest misfortunes, he never departed from his dignity. On the other hand, when he was victorious, he would make an offer to Metellus or Pompey, to

lay down his arms, on condition he might be permitted to return in the capacity of a private man. *He said he had rather be the meanest citizen in Rome, than an exile with the command of all the other countries in the world*

This love of his country is said to have been in some measure owing to the attachment he had to his mother. His father died in his infancy, and he had his education wholly from her; consequently his affections centered in her. His Spanish friends wanted to constitute him supreme governor; but having information at that time of the death of his mother, he gave himself up to the most alarming grief. For seven whole days he neither gave the word, nor would be seen by any of his friends. At last his generals, and others who were upon a footing with him in point of rank, beset his tent, and insisted that he should rise from the ground and make his appearance, to speak to the soldiers, and to take the direction of their affairs, which were then as prosperous as he could desire. Hence many imagined, that he was naturally of a pacific turn, and a lover of tranquillity, but he was brought against his inclination, by some means or other, to take upon him the command, and that when he was hard pressed by his enemies, and had no other shelter but that of war to fly to, he had recourse to it merely in the way of self-defence.

We cannot have greater proofs of his magnanimity than those that appear in his treaty with Mithridates. That prince, recovering from the fall given him by Sylla, entered the lists again, and renewed his pretensions to Asia. By this time the fame of Sertorius had extended itself into all parts of the world. The merchants who traded to the west, carried back news of his achievements, like commodities from a distant country, and filled Pontus with his renown. Hereupon Mithridates determined to send an embassy to him; induced to it by the vain speeches of his flatterers, who compared Sertorius to Hannibal, and Mithridates to Pyrrhus, and insisted that the Romans would never be able to bear up against two such powers and two persons of such genius and abilities, when attacked by them in different quarters, the one being the most excellent of generals, and the other the greatest of kings.

In pursuance of this scheme, Mithridates sent ambassadors into Spain, with letters to Sertorius, and proposals to be made in conference, the purport of which was, that the king would supply him with money and ships for the war, on condition that he confirmed his claim to Asia, which he had lately given up to the Romans in the treaty with Sylla.

Sertorius assembled his council which he called *the Senate*. They were unanimous in their opinions that he should accept the conditions, and think himself happy in them, since they were only asked an empty name and title to things which it was not in their power to give, and the king in return would supply them with what they most wanted. But Sertorius would by no means agree to it. He said, he had no objection to that prince's having Bithynia and

Cappadocia, countries accustomed to kingly government, and not belonging to the Romans by any just title : but as to a province to which the Romans had an undeniable claim ; a province which they had been deprived of by Mithridates, which he afterwards lost to Fimbria, and at last had quitted upon the peace with Sylla, he could never consent that he should be put in possession of it again. *"Rome," said he, "ought to have her power extended by my victories, and it is not my right to rise to power at her expense. A man who has any dignity of sentiment should conquer with honour, and not use any base means even to save his life."*

Mithridates was perfectly astonished at this answer, and thus communicated his surprise to his friends : "What orders would Sertorius give us, when seated in the senate-house at Rome, if now, driven as he is to the coasts of the Atlantic Ocean, he prescribes bounds to our empire, and threatens us with war if we make any attempt upon Asia?" The treaty, however, went on, and was sworn to. Mithridates was to have Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Sertorius to supply him with a general and some troops ; the king on the other hand was to furnish Sertorius with 3,000 talents, and forty ships of war.

The general whom Sertorius sent into Asia was a senator who had taken refuge with him, named Marcus Marius. When Mithridates, by his assistance, had taken some cities in Asia, he permitted that officer to enter them with his rods and axes, and voluntarily took the second place as one of his train. Marius declared some of those cities free, and excused others from imposts and taxes, telling them they were indebted for these favours to Sertorius. So that Asia, which laboured again under the exaction of the Roman tax-gatherers, and the oppressions and insults of the garrisons, had once more a prospect of some happier mode of government.

But in Spain the senators about Sertorius, who looked upon themselves as on a footing with him, no sooner saw themselves as a match for the enemy, than they bade adieu to fear, and gave into a foolish jealousy and envy of their general. At the head of these was Perpenna, who, elated with the vanity of birth, aspired to the command, and scrupled not to address his partisans in private with such speeches as these : "What evil demon possesses us, and leads us from bad to worse? We, who would not stay at home and submit to the orders of Sylla, who is master both of sea and land, what are we to come to? Did we not come here for liberty? Yet here we are voluntary slaves ; guards to the exiled Sertorius. We suffer ourselves to be amused with the title of a senate ; a title despised and ridiculed by all the world. O noble senators, who submit to the most mortifying tasks and labours, as much as the meanest Spaniards and Lusitanians !"

Numbers were attacked with these and such like discourses : and though they did not openly revolt, because they dreaded the power of Sertorius, yet they took private methods to ruin his affairs, by treating the barbarians ill, inflicting heavy punishments, and

collecting exorbitant subsidies, as if by his order. Hence the cities began to waver in their allegiance, and to raise disturbances; and the persons sent to compose those disturbances by mild and gentle methods, made more enemies than they reconciled, and inflamed the rising spirit of disobedience; insomuch that Sertorius, departing from his former clemency and moderation, behaved with great injustice and outrage to the children of the Spaniards in Osca, putting some to death, and selling others for slaves.

The conspiracy daily gathered strength, and among the rest Perpenna drew in Manlius,¹ who had a considerable command in the army. He and his partisans then prepared letters for Sertorius, which imported that a victory was gained by one of his officers, and great numbers of the enemy slain. Sertorius offered sacrifice for the good tidings; and Perpenna gave him, and his own friends who were by, and who were all privy to the design, an invitation to supper, which, with much entreaty, he prevailed upon him to accept.

The entertainments at which Sertorius was present, had been always attended with great order and decorum; for he could not bear either to see or hear the least indecency, and he had ever accustomed the guests to divert themselves in an innocent and irreproachable manner. But in the midst of the entertainment the conspirators began to seek occasion to quarrel, giving into the most dissolute discourse, and pretending drunkenness as the cause of their ribaldry. All this was done to provoke him. However, either vexed at their obscenities and design, or guessing at their designs by the manner of their drawing them out, he changed his posture, and threw himself back upon his couch, as though he neither heard nor regarded them. Then Perpenna took a cup of wine, and as he was drinking, purposely let it fall out of his hands. The noise it made being the signal for them to fall on, Antony, who sat next to Sertorius, gave him a stroke with his sword. Sertorius turned, and strove to get up; but Antony throwing himself upon his breast, held both his hands; so that not being able in the least to defend himself, the rest of the conspirators despatched him with many wounds.

Upon the first news of his death, most of the Spaniards abandoned Perpenna, and by their deputies surrendered themselves to Pompey and Metellus. Perpenna attempted something with those that remained; but though he had the use of all that Sertorius had prepared, he made so ill a figure, that it was evident he knew no more how to command than how to obey. He gave Pompey battle, and was soon routed and taken prisoner. Nor in this last distress did he behave as became a general. He had the papers of Sertorius in his possession, and he offered Pompey the sight of original letters from men of consular dignity, and the greatest interest in Rome, by which they invited Sertorius into

¹ Dacier thinks we should read *Manius*, by which he means *Manius Antonius*, who gave Sertorius the first blow.

Italy, in consequence of the desire of numbers, who wanted a change in the present state of affairs, and a new administration.

Pompey, however, behaved not like a young man, but with all the marks of a solid and improved understanding, and by his prudence delivered Rome from a train of dreadful fears and new commotions. He collected all those letters, and the other papers of Sertorius, and burned them, without either reading them himself, or suffering any other person to do it. As for Perpenna, he put him to death immediately, lest he should mention the names of those who wrote the letters, and thence new seditions and troubles should arise. Perpenna's accomplices met the same fate, some of them being brought to Pompey, and by him ordered to the block, and others, who fled into Africa, shot by the Moors. None escaped but Aufidius, the rival of Manlius. Whether it was that he could not be found, or they thought him not worth the seeking, he lived to old age in a village of the barbarians, wretchedly poor, and universally despised.

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